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Reprint of Prominent Kosovo Prisoner's Interview

AU1403141790 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 5 Mar 90 p 4

[Reprint of interview with Adam Demaqi, ethnic Albanian intellectual imprisoned in Yugoslavia, given to Yugoslav newspaper VECERNJI LIST and published in that paper on 24 February: "From Adam Demaqi's Interview"—"The Policy Toward Kosovo Is the Biggest Failed Investment of This Yugoslavia, in the Political As Well as the Economic Sense"]

[Text] The Zagreb newspaper, VECERNJI LIST of 24 February 1990 publishes an interview with Adam Demaqi. It says, among other things:

VECERNJI LIST: You enjoy a reputation as the ideologue of separatism in Kosovo. Meanwhile, you have missed out the great conflicts in 1968, 1988, and the more recent ones, with the perfect alibi: You were in prison.

Demaqi: This is an extremely paradoxical situation. Why? One must penetrate deeply the essence of things. What is the nature of the conflict in present-day Yugoslavia? The bureaucratic-parasitic class has enveloped the entire society.... In the absence of enemies, this bureaucratic-parasitic class must invent them, and where they exist it must present them in a distorted light in order to justify itself. This class is trying to portray the enemy as a phantom, attach labels to him, in order to assert its superiority and to keep a person 30 years in prison. The logic of this class is the logic of paralyzed rigidity, an antidialectical logic. It is as if they believe they have not changed in 25 years. Whereas the political purpose cannot remain out of the context of changing times.

VECERNJI LIST: What is your opinion of the clamorous reaction in Kosovo to the news about your supposed release?

Demaqi: The mass of the people do not accept the labels that have been attached to my name. Concerning my last trial, all of Kosovo knows that I am innocent. It was a fabricated trial. However, such trials were staged in the past by better masters then Slobo [Slobodan Milosevic].

VECERNJI LIST: Twenty-five years ago you had about 300 supporters in illegal groups. Tens of thousands have been enthusiastically awaiting your release recently.

Demaqi: The policy that has kept me in prison for 30 years has been seen to have failed. The policy on Kosovo is the biggest failed investment ever made by this Yugoslavia, in the political as well as in the economic sense. These people hope, and I believe they are mistaken in this, that if I had the opportunity to make my contribution, the solution to this question would be more successful than that of this bureaucratic-parasitic class, which has shown the way to everywhere and nowhere. Bearing in mind their difficult experience, this mass of people is seeking an honest person, a just person who would lead them out of this blind alley. Our generations want to find a solution to the crisis, but not in the present way, not with violence and whips, not with tear as.

VECERNJI LIST: Your long-term imprisonment has turned you into a symbol, thus explaining your present popularity.

Demaqi: The trust placed in me is not groundless. The people feel certain things instinctively. I said on one occasion that I would prefer my son to be killed, rather than a Serb. The greatest victory of the Albanian people in modern times is that they have relinquished revenge and have not permitted it, despite the repression and the killings. This is the way to defeat all the forces of the demon hiding under [remainder of sentence illegible].

Part 2 of Interview

AU1403141990 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 7 Mar 90 p 4

[Reprint of second part of interview with Adam Demaqi, ethnic Albanian intellectual imprisoned in Yugoslavia, given to Yugoslav newspaper VECERNJI LIST and published in that paper on 25 February: "My Only Purpose: To Burn Like a Candle and Light the Way to Others"—"Continuation of Adam Demaqi's interview"]

[Text] The Zagreb newspaper VECERNJI LIST of 25 February publishes the continuation of its interview with Adam Demaqi, the first part of which we published in a previous issue. It says, among other things:

VECERNJI LIST: Kosovo is changing very rapidly, politically. What is your opinion of the alternative movements that are gaining strength daily in Kosovo?

Demaqi: The only way out of this tragic and yet farcical situation is to establish democracy and a multiparty system in which people may struggle for their political stands by peaceful and legal means, without having to resort to illegality and violence. But the bureaucracy is not letting up. The anti-democratic forces in Kosovo are against the participation of the Albanians in the country's political life, as well as against the democratization of Yugoslavia. The Kosovo question is therefore the question of democracy, the question of a multiparty system, of the equality of all nations, and it is a question of humanism.

VECERNJI LIST: Are you not afraid that, after your release, you may lose the concrete political battle with contemporary concepts?

Demaqi: I am not afraid of this, because I have kept in step with these contemporary processes of development. I am dialectical and I am not afraid of progress. I will involve myself in these processes with all my being. When I am released, my only policy will be a policy of cooperation and understanding, primarily with those who are afraid of some kind of Albanian supremacy, and I will use my political capital for the destruction of all possible attempts that may be made, in no matter what

way, to exploit the numerical superiority of Albanians in Kosovo. If it is a question of Yugoslavia as a whole, I would spare no efforts to establish contact with political forces in other parts of the country, in the direction of rapprochement and cooperation, but always on the basis of equal relations.

VECERNJI LIST: Here in prison, you are considered a leader among the prisoners of Albanian nationality.

Demaqi: With regard to the number of years that I have spent here, I am the senior, and seniority enjoys a little more respect.

VECERNJI LIST: How accurate is the saying that you are a political teacher in the prison?

Demaqi: If you are thinking of what is written in the police files, I would say that practice is a greater teacher than what I could be to anyone. This policy of Serbia's bureaucratic leadership, in addition to all its defects and shortcomings, also has a positive side to it. Its fire and its blows, directed mainly against the Albanians, have really achieved the homogenization of the Albanian people. I myself could not, not even in 100 years, achieve through my words the effect achieved in these two-three years by our benefactor Slobo [Slobodan Milosevic]. Serbian policy refuses to understand the imperative. That is why it has suffered so many blows and that is why it has experienced so many failures. What it is now doing in Kosovo is a bloody attempt to cover up all those failures, which are a consequence precisely of this lack of readiness to understand the imperative. And when it is a matter of politics, when it comes to directing the state and the people, there can be no long-lasting policy without full respect for the will of the individual and of the people.

VECERNJI LIST: What is your experience of these 28 years as a man deprived of freedom, whose marriage has broken down, and who does not even see his own children?

Demaqi: I do not see all these sufferings as having affected me. I have never been confronted with the idea that my life may have been in vain. I have looked at this question more from a philosophical viewpoint, dialectically. Conditions here are horrendous, but I do not view even the worst crime in despair. I have lost neither my nerve nor my health. I do not view all this as a tragedy. It is perhaps this psychological strategy of mine that has given me my immunity.

VECERNJI LIST: After all these years in prison, are you perhaps not afraid of 6 October, the day when our sentence expires?

Demaqi: There is no reason to be afraid. I have lived life and I have no other purpose than that of helping others, but it is up to them to accept it or not. I have no other purpose but to burn like a candle and to light the way, and to burn to the end.

Alia Greets Chile's Aylwin on Election

AU1403125890 Tirana ATA in English 0901 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 14 (ATA)—Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, sent the following message of greetings to the president of the Republic of Chile, Patricio Aylwin:

"On occasion of your election to the post of the president of the Republic of Chile, accept Excellency, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in my name, the best wishes for performing your noble tasks, for the realization of the aspirations of the friendly Chilean people, for the strengthening of freedom, independence and the democratization of the life of the country.

"I express my conviction that the relations between Albania and Chile will develop non-stop in the future in the interest of our two peoples."

Agreement on Political System Published

AU1403154990 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 Mar 90 pp 1, 3

["Agreement on the Political System" adopted by the national roundtable of the government and opposition forces in Sofia on 12 March]

[Text]

1. Basic Principles of the Political System:

The problems that have accumulated in the country must be resolved in a spirit of tolerance and mutual understanding, in order to be able to implement a peaceful transition to a democratic social system under conditions of stability, lawfulness, and full respect for the rights and freedoms of all participants in the political process.

The country needs a political system based on and guaranteeing the effective implementation and protection of all internationally recognized human rights and freedoms, social justice, and the solidarity of all citizens and political forces in defending the supreme interests of the people and the motherland.

The construction of such a political system also depends on the need for national consensus under conditions of political pluralism related to our nation's vital interests—the framework and principles of the political and economic system, the bases of national security, and the main principles of the country's foreign policy and international obligations.

Our common striving is to construct a civic society that ensures the conditions of equal rights and opportunities for all people, and for the free development and initiative of every person.

The national roundtable considers that the change that took place on 10 November 1989 marked the beginning of the move toward democracy and the elimination of the party, ideological, and government monopoly. It is necessary to avoid the danger of preserving the undemocratic character of the political system that existed until now, which hinders and distorts the development of the country, society, and personality. The process of removing and preventing the totalitarian and undemocratic structures and tendencies that has begun must be strengthened and accelerated. Effective guarantees for the full-fledged participation of all political forces in this process must be created. This is an important precondition for overcoming the present economic, political, and spiritual crisis.

The pressing nature of this task, from the viewpoint of the country's supreme interests, makes it necessary to rapidly hold free elections by the end of the first half of 1990 with the participation of the political parties, and under conditions of complete equality before the law in respect of all things connected with their activity, including their participation in the forthcoming election campaign.

2. Basic Elements of a Democratic and Humane Political System:

—Constitutionally and legislatively adopted legal and political guarantees and mechanisms that will in practice ensure to every Bulgarian citizen effective respect for, implementation, and protection of all civil, political, economic, social, and cultural human rights and basic freedoms in accordance with the international obligations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria related to:

1. The Universal Declaration on Human Rights.
2. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.
3. The International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights.
4. The Helsinki Final Act.
5. The Final Document of the Vienna Meeting.
6. The UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief.
7. The Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, and Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and so forth.

—Sovereignty of the people, exercised by a parliament elected in free and competitive elections. This sovereignty may also be exercised directly, through referendums in cases and in the manner envisioned by the law. The Government must be responsible to the parliament.

—Organs of local self-management, formed through free elections, which must be guaranteed total independence within the framework of the Constitution, and the system, law, national independence, and territorial integrity of the country.

—Separation of power in accordance with the universal standards of parliamentary democracy and constitutional guarantees against excessive concentration of power and abuse of power by persons and institutions.

—A multiparty system as an expression and guarantee of the natural functioning of a democratic and pluralistic political system, under conditions of free competition between various political ideas and trends, and with constitutional guarantees for the existence, normal functioning, property, and access to the media of all parties—governing and oppositional alike—as well as of their members' rights and safety.

—Political decisions that must be adopted by the competent state organs in accordance with the principle of the majority, while guaranteeing the rights of the minority, including the right to express disagreement and conduct a legal political struggle to have adopted decisions reviewed.

—Open political activity and the free expression of opinions and culture, and responsibility of all political

and public forces to the people in accordance with the established constitutional order.
—Guaranteed equality of all forms of ownership (state, cooperative, private, and others) before the law as an obligatory precondition for naturally developing economic relations, while precluding the possibility of coercive acquisition of property or changing the character of ownership in the country. Constitutionally determining and limiting the kinds of objects exclusively owned by the state.

3. On Forthcoming Pressing Legislative Measures:

The roundtable must discuss the basic premises of the laws that have been submitted to the National Assembly for adoption at the Assembly's next session. For this purpose the necessary working groups and other organs will be formed. If consensus has been reached at a plenary session of the roundtable on the fundamental premises of the separate projects, the roundtable's recommendations and proposals will be submitted to the National Assembly or other state organs. In such cases the members of the working groups will participate in the work of the National Assembly and the relevant state organs related to preparing the final drafts of the laws and other legal acts, in order to cooperate in implementing the agreements that have been reached.

a) On the Law on Changing the Constitution.

The roundtable agrees that the following premises must be included in the Law on Amendments and Addenda to the Constitution, which will be adopted at the next National Assembly session:

—the preamble must be abolished;
—the basic elements of the democratic and humane political system, in accordance with Chapter 2 of this agreement, must be reflected in the Constitution;
—the Constitution must contain specific legal and material guarantees for the observance of internationally recognized human rights and basic freedoms.

b) On the Law on Political Parties.

The Law on Political Parties, which will be adopted at the next National Assembly session, must regulate the conditions of the existence and activity of the political parties and other organizations with political goals. In order to separate the party activity from the functions of the state institutions, economic organizations, and apolitical organizations with ideological goals, the national roundtable agrees that the following elements must be incorporated in the law:

—a simplified procedure for registering in the courts;
—equal conditions for the organization and activity of the political parties and movements;
—the parties and political organizations and movements may not establish organizational structures at places of work;
—the parties and political organizations and movements may create their political clubs and associations on the basis of profession and interest, or on the territorial principle or on the principle of places of residence.

The law must legally prohibit:

—the organization of political activity at places of work, both on the part of the political parties and the other organizations and movements;
—the interference of parties and other public associations in the management and functioning of ministries, committees, departments, and other state organs and offices, the Army, the system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and other security organs, the court and the Chief Prosecutor's Office, the economic organizations, the national mass media (radio, TV, BTA), the national health protection system, the creative unions, the religious organizations, and higher educational establishments and schools;
—the existence of parties and political organizations and movements, whose activity is aimed toward the violent change of the country's constitutional order, violating its sovereignty and territorial integrity, kindling racial, national, ethnic, and religious hatred, and violating the citizens' rights;
—the establishment of parties and political organizations and movementson an ethnic or religious basis;
—the establishment of military or illegal units of the parties and other political organizations and movements.

When other organizations and movements (trade unions, public movements, associations, and so forth), implement political activity, their activity falls under the regulations of the Law on Political Parties and the other laws.

The Law on Political Parties must regulate the forms, conditions, and order of obtaining material assistance, contributions, and inheritance from foreign citizens and nonstate organizations in favor of the political parties and other public organizations. The law must not allow any direct or indirect financing on the part of foreign states, parties, organizations, and citizens, of the political activity in the country, something that violates the order established by the law.

c) On the Status of the Radio and Television.

The roundtable agrees with the basic premises of the status of the radio and television, and considers the following premises as very important:

—the radio and television are national institutions, controlled by the National Assembly;
—a consultative parliamentary-public organ, related to the activity of the radio and television, must be created;
—the radio and television must be used in an equal and regulated manner by all political organizations;
—the obligations of the participants in radio and television broadcasts must be established; a special section must be included about the professional ethics of radio

and television employees with a view to observing the necessary objectivity, tolerance, and responsibility.

The roundtable must discuss draft regulations for radio and television, and discuss and recommend candidates for their leaderships.

4. Certain Pressing Measures:

a) Within one month the national roundtable must discuss and propose to the government that it adopt normative acts that will introduce the practice of declaring the property and annual income of:

—leading figures of the state and public organizations, religious communities, and so forth;
—the property of the political parties and public organizations, while establishing a system of controlling and verifying the information that has been submitted and the way property owned by the state is used.

b) By the end of April the national roundtable must discuss the basic premises of the draft law on guaranteeing the state security, public order, and the citizens' rights and interests;

—the draft law that is being prepared must envision appropriate procedures that will provide citizens with an opportunity to be acquainted with the information that has been collected about them, and receive information about the activity of state organs and departments, except for activities that have been declared by the law to be state secrets;
—the Ministry of Internal Affairs must submit information to a working group about the current reorganization of the organs of security, and whenever necessary, proposals are to be coordinated.

The National Assembly must adopt an act, proposed by the government, that determines the categories of civilians who have the right to own firearms. A National Assembly commission with the participation of the interested political forces must control the implementation of this act.

c) On the basis of a proposal submitted by a specially established commission with the participation of representatives of various religious communities and religious citizens, the national roundtable must discuss within one month the expedience of the status and functions of the Committee on Questions of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and Religious Cults.

d) In connection with the forthcoming free and democratic elections for the National Assembly that will take place during the first half of the year, the national roundtable calls for the creation of equal conditions for the election activity of the political parties.

Those conditions must encompass among other things:

—state assistance for the participants in the election campaign;
—eliminating the state monopoly on publishing activity and regulating the use of existing printing facilities of national importance (including the RABOTNICHESKO DELO complex), as well as the use of newsprint, placing this use on an economic basis and creating fair conditions and access for all political parties to the facilities and the newsprint;
—by the end of March the interested sides must prepare and propose to the government an act that would regulate these issues until the adoption of an appropriate law, while respecting the agreements that have been signed so far and the obligations that have been assumed;
—the import of newsprint, printing, reproduction, office, and audio-visual equipment, as well as other similar materials, used by the political parties and public organizations and movement must be exempt from tax until the elections.

The municipal people's councils and townships must assist the election commissions, in which all political parties taking part in the elections must be represented in accordance with the law. The commissions are required:

—to provide appropriate premises with the necessary equipment for organizing the public election centers;
—to ensure the utilization of the appropriate material base of the public organization free of charge and in accordance with an agreed timetable for conducting political actions;
—to coordinate a system of equally utilizing the local publications, radio stations, and other mass propaganda media outside the places of work;
—to recommend that people refrain from using religious institutions in the forthcoming elections;
—to prohibit the conduct of organized political activity at places of work during the election campaign;
—to ensure during the election campaign the utilization of the premises and material base of the People's Palace of Culture, the local culture clubs (including trade union, youth, and other such clubs), and public reading rooms, while coordinating with their leaderships equal conditions of utilization for all political parties;
—to ensure that no later than one month before the elections all political parties and public organizations that are participating directly or indirectly in the elections publish information about their property, the sources of their income, including income from abroad, and their basic expenditures. The same information must also be submitted also one month after the elections;
—to ensure that by the beginning of the election campaign all political parties and public organizations taking part in the elections present information about their program, statute, structure, leading and auxiliary organs, payroll, and membership.

In order to preclude any possibility of speculating about the democratic character of the elections, and foil any possible attempts to discredit the election campaign and

process inside the country or from abroad, representatives of the parliaments of the USSR, United States, the FRG, France, Italy, England, Canada, Finland, and Austria, as well as representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council, the European Parliament, the Interparliamentary Union, and other countries and organizations, must be invited as guests of the Bulgarian state, on the basis of mutual agreements.

The roundtable's participants declare that, regardless of the results of the elections, no measures will be adopted against the existence, normal functioning, legal property, and information means of any party—governing or oppositional—or against their members' rights and safety. No discrimination based on political reasons will be allowed.

The roundtable proposes to the government that it create the necessary organization and adopt effective measures through the appropriate state organs to ensure normal conditions for the activity of all political and public forces in the country, and simultaneously, to ensure strict observance of public order in the period until the elections and during the elections themselves. The political parties and movements must assume the appropriate obligations and responsibilities in this respect.

Declaration on Roundtable Role, Status

AU1403120890 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 Mar 90 p 3

["Declaration on the Role and Status of the National Roundtable" signed at the 12 March roundtable session]

[Text] The national roundtable in Bulgaria is a specific expression of the democratic process that began on 10 November 1989. The country's political and public forces are represented in the roundtable discussion. They are united by an exceptionally responsible and highly humane goal—implementing the peaceful transition from a totalitarian to a democratic social system.

The national roundtable conforms with the development of democratic processes in Eastern Europe and the universal striving toward peace, understanding, and cooperation. It is a symbol and a real political instrument of nationwide importance.

The emergence of this high-level democratic forum is a result of the general understanding that in the present situation the National Assembly, the government and the other state institutions can fully carry out their tasks only under conditions of national consensus and accord among the various public forces. Through its broad representation, the national roundtable expresses the political will of the Bulgarian people and becomes a guarantee of the irreversible character of the democratic process.

The national roundtable's task is to reach specific agreements as a necessary political prerequisite of resolving the most important political, legislative, and socioeconomic issues. These are issues that mainly relate both to the ways, stages, and timetable for eliminating the totalitarian structures that have been negated by experience, and for democratizing society, as well as to the basic ideas and principles of drafts of laws and other legal documents that will ensure the most rapid and decisive steps toward achieving nationwide goals.

The roundtable's participants assume the obligation to utilize their representation in the legislative and executive organs and their public influence in order to ensure the implementation of the agreements that have been adopted by consensus, and to initiate action related to the most important issues included in the "Basic Issues For Discussion at the Roundtable," after those issues have been discussed.

The implementation of this exceptional role and status of the national roundtable can take place only under conditions of mutual confidence, a constructive spirit, and responsibility.

On Transition to Democracy

AU1403132890 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 13 Mar 90 p 1

["National Agreement on Guaranteeing the Peaceful Development of the Transition Toward a Democratic Political System" signed at the 12 March national roundtable session]

[Text] The parties, movements, and organizations, that are taking part in the national roundtable,

being aware of the fact that the people's interests must be above any other interests,

confirming their conviction that the transition toward a democratic political system in Bulgaria must take place in a nonviolent, bloodless, and civilized manner,

sharing the common concern that any outbreak of or tendency toward violence, regardless of its origin, will hinder this process,

noting that ensuring public order and a calm situation in the country is in the interest of all,

and fully understanding the necessity of taking into consideration the existing laws,

assume the moral and political obligation to the Bulgarian people to conduct their comprehensive political activity and the forthcoming election campaign in the following manner:

1. To refrain from using violent methods and means, as well as from preaching violence and threatening with violence, and to prevent the emergence of disorder and chaos in the country in any form.
2. To view the political confrontation as a competition between ideas, platforms, and programs; to demonstrate tolerance for the convictions and views of the opponents

that is characteristic of every democratic and civilized society; and to strive to reach agreement through a constructive dialogue.
3. To guarantee mutual noninterference in their political activity, to refrain from illegally interrupting or hindering any political manifestations, including peaceful meetings and rallies, and to exclude any attempts against the propaganda means of other sides.
4. To refrain from using printed matter and the mass media for political provocation and instigation for violence.
5. To prevent and intercept all acts of violence and to be politically and morally responsible for all illegal activities of their members or adherents.
6. To make maximum efforts for creating the necessary conditions for the normal and peaceful preparation and conduct of the elections in conditions of total democracy and equal possibilities of participation for all.
7. To prevent the possibility that state organs will abuse power in the favor of any party.
8. To demand an increase in the responsibility of the law and order organs in anything related to:

maintaining the safety and public order, by making their activity fully conform to the democratic changes that are taking place in the country's Constitution and legislation;

decisively preventing and intercepting all attempts to use physical, moral, and psychological pressure and terror against both political leaders and individual citizens;

demanding responsibility, including legal responsibility, from all those who have engaged in such actions in favor of any political party, including the employees of those organs;

seizing illegal weapons;

and ensuring equal protection and facilitating the self-protection of premises, buildings, and other property of the legally registered and acting political and public forces.

The participants in the national roundtable appeal to all other political and public forces and all Bulgarian citizens to support this declaration and adhere to it.

Sofia, 12 March 1990.

Criminal Procedure Amendments Discussed

AU1303205590 Sofia BTA in English 1909 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—Bulgarian citizens will be entitled to defense counsel from the moment of charging. Suspicion of involvement in criminal activity will no longer be sufficient grounds for arrest. These and other draft amendments to the Code of Criminal Procedure were considered today at a meeting of the National Assembly Standing Committee on Legislative Affairs.

The idea is to repeal a number of local standards which are inconsistent with the current political, economic and social situation and which impede a more adequate and genuine democratization of society. The amendments will bring criminal justice into line with international standards.

It was suggested to eliminate the possibility to subpoena an accused as a witness. Confessions can no longer play a decisive role. Law courts will have to issue a ruling on the basis of the testimony they hear and of the evidence produced by the investigators. If he wants to, an accused may testify only in the presence of his defence lawyer. It was also suggested to drop some ambiguous or unclear texts concerning remand detention.

Minister Denies Rumors of Supplies Stoppage

AU1503092490 Sofia BTA in English 0826 GMT 15 Mar 90

[From the press review]

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—The inflationary phenomena in the Bulgarian economy come from the unrealistic proportions of the distribution of the national income, especially in the period of industrialization, writes today's TRUD. According to the paper the causes for these negative processes in the national economy are the priority development of the production of means of production and the excessive investment construction that embraces almost 30 thousand projects.

In the same paper the Deputy Minister of Home Trade, Mr Yovcho Rusev, disproves the rumours of a blockade of the capital due to which the countryside has stopped the supplies of goods to the city. He points out that the shortage in the Sofia shops is nothing else but the result of the serious crisis in the country. he says.

Lukanov Meets With Pleven Constituents

AU1303215190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov held a meeting with the local aktiv of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the local economic aktiv in Pleven tonight.

BCP Municipal Council Chairman Dimitur Nenchev announced the wish of the Communists and of many other people that Andrey Lukanov's candidacy as National Assembly deputy representing Pleven be proposed for the forthcoming National Assembly.

In his detailed speech, Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov dwelled on the BCP's role in the present, difficult stage of the country's development and on its historical responsibility as a political and ruling force. [passage indistinct].

The party should seek fundamental methods to overcome the difficulties. We should once and for all reject

the outdated model of the former, authoritarian regime, Andrey Lukanov stated. It is the duty of all the people to establish the foundations of a democratic and rule-of-law society.

In this connection, Andrey Lukanov pointed out that the agreements reached at the roundtable talks yesterday represent a real step toward the transition to consensus, democracy, and a parliamentarian system.

Andrey Lukanov answered numerous questions asked about the economic crisis in the country. Lukanov's visit to the Pleven Municipality is expected to continue tomorrow.

Further on Meeting

AU1403210390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Premier Andrey Lukanov continued his visit to Pleven today. He met economic experts and party veterans and also had talks with city authorities.

At lunchtime today he attended a workers meeting in the Pleven Kompakt enterprise. Andrey Lukanov paid special attention to the measures expected to be applied in implementing the anticrisis program for alleviating the possible negative, social results of the program. He pledged that the government will try to make the transition tolerable for the nation and that the price that the population is expected to pay in the sector of social welfare for the changes should not be excessive.

Andrey Lukanov visited the village of Yasen today. He spoke on the problems of Bulgaria's rural areas and said that it is high time for the whole nation to make up for the damages caused to the Bulgarian villagers. This, of course, will not only be implemented through granting subsidies from the budget, but by granting the peasants an opportunity to build up a profitable production.

The participants in the crowded meeting proposed that Andrey Lukanov be their candidate for the forthcoming National Assembly elections.

Mosque Fire Noted; No Political Motives

AU1303205390 Sofia BTA in English 1854 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—At 4:35 a.m. this morning the fire service was alerted about a blaze at the Mosque in Khaskovo's marketplace, a 315-year-old historical and architectural monument, owned by the Bulgarian Muslim Board.

The firefighters arrived instantly on the scene and took only ten minutes to localize the blaze which was put out at 6:30 a.m with the help of seven fire engines.

The losses are worth an estimated 90,000 leva. A totalizer [word as received] booth, a watchmakers' shop and a harness-making shop burned down along with the mosque.

While experts are looking into the causes, all sorts of rumors are going round.

The Committee for the Defense of National Interests in Khaskovo issued a declaration distancing itself from any act of violence. Its members insist that the commissions of inquiry into the case make public their findings.

"We don't blame anybody," said the Regional Mufti Svetoslav Dukhovnikov.

"The fire is not politically motivated," said Mr Kuncho Kunchev, principal secretary of the Chief Mufti's Office.

Mosque To Be Restored

AU1403153090 Sofia BTA in English 1110 GMT 14 Mar 90

["Khaskovo Mosque Will Be Restored Mladenov Says"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, said that the mosque which burned down in Khaskovo, a town with a large Muslim population in southeastern Bulgaria, 250 km from Sofia, will be rebuilt.

The mosque in that town which has a large Muslim population was completely destroyed in a large blaze which firefighters localized but could not put down. The estimated losses run at 90,000 leva. The mosque, built 315 years ago, was designated an architectural and a historical monument.

Officials at the local mufti's office do not think that the fire was politically motivated as an act against the Muslim community. An investigation has been ordered into the case, while all sorts of rumors are going round. Many people tend to associate the fire with the Bulgarian Citizens Names Act, which entered into force yesterday after much controversy in its drafting stages. Others recall that precisely on that date the Bulgarian forces captured the Turkish city of Edirne (Adrianople) during the First Balkan War 77 years ago.

The Bulgarian Government pledged to take emergency action for the restoration of the mosque. The chairman of the Khaskovo Municipal Council said that the local authorities will help, too.

Patriotic Rally Held in Kurdzhali

AU1403125390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Mar 90 p 1

[BTA report from Kurdzhali: "We Are All Citizens of The Same Motherland"]

[Text] Kurdzhali, 11 March (BTA)—The population of the eastern Rhodope region has never lived in an atmosphere of confrontation. This was once more confirmed at today's rally, which was attended by thousands of people and proceeded under the slogan: "For A Peaceful Transition to Democracy." The event was organized by

the All-People's Committee for the Defense of National Interests and the Movement of Rights and Freedoms in Bulgaria.

From early morning, many Kurdzhali citizens and people from the neighboring villages gathered in the square in front of the Municipal People's Council Building. There were no posters, banners, or slogans with extremist demands. A peaceful atmosphere prevailed in all discussions. Dimitur Arnaudov spoke on behalf of the All-People's Committee for the Defense of National Interests. He pointed out that democracy means law and order above all things. In this time of decisive change, everyone should ask himself and answer the following three questions: "Who am I, what do I think about my personal stand, and do my actions coincide with my thoughts?"

Municipal BCP Council Chairman Milcho Milchev was the next speaker. He declared that the citizens of Kurdhzali and of the municipality's villages request and support a democratic rule-of-law state, and said consensus among the different ethnic groups is the most reliable method of preserving the nation.

Medi Doganov, Movement for Rights and Freedoms leader, confirmed in his statement to the participants in the rally that the word autonomy is not included in the platform of the recently established social formation that he presides over, and that this word will never be applied because we are all citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which is our common homeland. As to the question of who could be of assistance in settling the nationality issue at this stage of development, Doganov categorically stated: "No one but ourselves!"

The statement of Internal Affairs Minister Atanas Semerdzhiev that every Bulgarian should know and remember his own ethnic roots and native region was greeted with prolonged applause. The current changes in Bulgaria do not occur within months and weeks, but within days and hours. Therefore peace, law, order, and national security are required more than ever today, he stated. The speaker concurred with the exhortation that we should contribute with all our efforts and means for overcoming a polarization of views.

Atanas Semerdzhiev closed his speech with the following appeals: "No to party extremism!" "No to the strike wave!" "Yes to national consensus!" "Let our hands join together!"

Mincho Minchev, All-People's Committee for the Defense of National Interests spokesman, appealed to the participants in the rally urging them to support the initiatve of collecting contributions for a sick Bulgarian child, who needs an urgent operation. The first donations were promptly collected.

Shortly after Kurdzhali Mayor Dimitur Bogdanov closed the rally, an unpleasant incident occurred. Plamen Darakchiev, the newspaper DEMOKRATSIYA's deputy editor in chief, was booed by the people who shouted: "Out of Kurdzhali!" The Union of Democratic Forces does not seem to be popular in this place.

Lilov's Visit to Razgard Area Noted

AU1303124590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Mar 90 p 1

[Report by BTA correspondent Pavlina Petkova from Razgrad: "Change Is the Chance"]

[Text] Razgrad, 9 March—People came here today from the neighboring villages to the reading rooms of Yasenovets and Ushintsi villages expecting to meet Aleksandur Lilov, Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Supreme Council chairman. During their meeting with him, they did not try to hide their disappointment about the unenviable fate of the Bulgarian village and about the "sins" committed by shortsighted farming methods, by the failure of society to pay the farmers and cattle breeders the respect they deserve. The cooperative farmers, founders of the labor cooperative agricultural farms, both Communists and nonparty people, and others expressed some unpleasant truths and submitted some of their own views on the question of land ownership and about the law on the land, in the conviction that the BCP is capable of and obliged to work out and submit an agrarian reform likely to restore the peasants' prestige and self-confidence as real masters of the land.

The villagers from the Razgrad area did not remain indifferent to the problems and difficulties that the BCP is now trying to overcome. Their frank statements were a response to the open-minded words that were addressed to them from the rostrum. The BCP Supreme Council Presidium chairman stated: The time has come to listen to the voice of the common people's wisdom without whom we cannot resolve the problems of Bulgaria's destiny.

Numerous participants in the meeting pleaded for renewal, they dwelled on the requirement for more active forms of political struggle and on national consensus, without which the country's economic and social progress is impossible. The party's categorical stand on a peaceful transition to democracy was evaluated as a topical political action that is in the interest of all society.

Aleksandur Lilov's meeting with representatives of the Razgrad public—Communists, nonparty people, economic and cultural figures, and representatives of the opposition in the municipality—lasted over three hours and proceeded in a spirit of lively debate. As in previous talks, change was the key word, which is likely to promote our progress along the path of democratization. How this change should be implemented and how soon; what is the responsibility of the BCP and of the other political forces, including the opposition—these were only part of the issues touched upon during the discussion. Some critical statements mentioned the "bureaucratic style" in connection with adopting decisions, the

slow progress of renewal among party cadres, and the failure of holding the direct culprits for the present crisis responsible.

Aleksandur Lilov stressed that we should learn to listen to our own and to other people's arguments. He briefed his audience on the basic stand of the high party leadership related to the nationality issue under the newly established democratic conditions.

'Nikola Petkov' BZNS Leader Discusses Merger

AU1203163490 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 9 Mar 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Milan Drenchev, "leader of the 'Nikola Petkov' Bulgarian National Agrarian Union," by Khristo Karlukovski, OTECHESTVEN FRONT reporter; place and date not given: "Public Guarantees by Political Means"]

[Excerpts] His name has appeared on the national political scene after a delay of 40 years. It is connected with the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] and the ideas of Stamboliyski, Nikola Petkov, Duparinov, and Tsanko Tserkovski. [passage omitted]

[Karlukovski] What, in your opinion, prevents the unification of the "Nikola Petkov" BZNS and the official BZNS?

[Drenchev] I would like to clarify the following: I do not think that two agrarian unions exist, as people think. Why? How could a union that for more than 40 years was no different than the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] be an independent union? For me this is a union without ideology and without its own positions and concepts on the behavior of the government. This actual merger of the BCP and the BZNS indeed predetermines our position on the issue of the existence of two unions. Subsequently, we cannot speak about the merging of two unions.

History and life show something completely different. Today the BCP has decided to begin reforms. And whom does the party seek as a partner? Us. This is so because the consolidation of democracy in Bulgaria is unthinkable without our participation. The BCP understands and notes this very well. Simultaneously, the official BZNS suddenly remembered that once, in the time of Stamboliyski, there was a BZNS program, so they decided to publish it. Their goal is clear: self-protection and an attempt to preserve their official posts.

Under such circumstances we have nobody to merge with. We can only speak about unity on the basis of mass membership. [passage omitted]

[Karlukovski] Your participation in the roundtable is an active form of cooperation with the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF]. Do you intend to build upon and widen your traditional relations with the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party [BSDP] within the UDF?

[Drenchev] We shall never relinquish our alliance relations and common activity on the political scene with the BSDP. Now, as in the past, this alliance is based on our common goals and intentions. We have all the prerequisites for remaining firm and loyal allies.

What relations do we have with other UDF organizations? There is a reason that we are together. Their goals and demands for restructuring, a rule-of-law state, democratization, and a new financial and economic system are fully identical to ours. If we have no significant differences, why we should be apart?

[Karlukovski] There were rumors that you were invited to become a minister in Andrey Lukanov's cabinet. Is this true?

[Drenchev] The truth is that they would have accepted as a member of the cabinet not only me, but any other UDF representative. No specific talks were conducted with me on this issue, but the matter did emerge in an indirect manner.

[Karlukovski] The Extraordinary Congress of the official BZNS has ended. Do you plan to hold your own congress in the near future?

[Drenchev] Yes, we intend to convene a congress, but only after our organizations strengthen. The congress must show the mass character of our organization. We have restored many local branches, but this is not enough. There are difficulties that hinder our organizational development: There are no suitable premises, and often our members are threatened by representatives of the official BZNS. [passage omitted]

New Patriotic Organization Established

AU0903220890 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 8 Mar 90 p 2

[OTECHESTVEN FRONT report: "St. Kliment Okhridski All-Bulgarian Union Established"]

[Text] The union is the successor of the Bulgarian revival movement in Macedonia and pursues the goal of struggling mainly through scientific methods against the ideology of Macedonianism—an ideological expression of the aspiration for the spiritual assimilation of Bulgarians from and in Macedonia—which is in contradiction with the humanitarian principles and historical truth. This ideology led to a unique paradox in world civilization during the 1945-1948 period—namely that Bulgarians should deny the right of other Bulgarians to call themselves Bulgarians, as their nationality requires.

For this reason, the St. Kliment Okhridski All-Bulgarian Union intends to pursue the following goals:

—For the truth about the creation of the Bulgarian nation and language to be disseminated within our country and abroad;

—For the publication of all Comintern documents adopted after 1934 and related to the establishment of the "Macedonian" nationality.
—Against all efforts to distort and misappropriate the Bulgarian history;
—For the moral rehabilitation of all Bulgarians and foreigners who participated in the Bulgarians' national liberation struggle in Macedonia.
—Against the assimilation of Bulgarians in neighbor countries and all over the world;
—For the establishment of a Committee on Unresolved Nationality Questions in Europe within the framework of the pan-European process;

The St. Kliment Okhridski Union is open to all Bulgarians, whether or not they are members of political parties, who recognize the Bulgarian nationality of the Slavonic population in Macedonia and who renounce all former and present programs and documents that deny the existence of Bulgarians in Macedonia, as being in contradiction with basic human rights and democracy. The St. Kliment Okhridski All-Bulgarian Union has no ambitions of becoming a political movement, or party.

Metropolitan Kyrill Discusses Role of Church

AU0903162090 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 7 Mar 90 p 5

[Interview with Bulgarian Metropolitan Kyrill by Khristo Ivanov of SOFIA PRESS AGENCY, "exclusive for NEUE ZEIT;" place and date not given: "The Belief in God Helps To Build a Humane Order"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Ivanov] According to the Constitution, the church is separated from the state in Bulgaria. Actually, this is hardly noticeable....

[Kyrill, interruprting] The church is separated from the state, but not from society. Christians are also part of the society. Independence exists above all in the financial sector, for the several thousands of leva of state subsidies are hardly worth mentioning, compared to the church budget amounting to some millions.

[Ivanov] We are living in a complicated and dynamic time, a time of active change. What role does the church play?

[Kyrill] The church's task is the moral renewal of man. Only morally pure people can build a successful society.

[Ivanov] The rule of the centralist-bureaucratic system probably also influenced the church. Do you see any change in this respect?

[Kyrill] Of course, the church was also affected. In fact, church and society are inseparable. This concerns the younger generation to a high degree. The expropriation by the state of the building of the seminary for priests in Sofia built in 1902 was a moral blow for many young Christians. During 40 years they had to be trained under far more difficult conditions in the Cherepish Monastery. The question arises whose children they are—certainly children of the Bulgarian people and thus, equal citizens of this state. Today—in view of the little time left for reforms—it is hardly possible to talk already of basic changes. However, I am convinced that soon all Bulgarian citizens will have the same rights. Just like some people can make atheistic propaganda, others should also be able to avail themselves completely unhindered of their right to serve God and to preach his word. [passage omitted]

Parties, Organizations Denounce Macedonian Rally

AU1303212090 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Mar 90 pp 1, 2

[BTA report: "30 Separatists In Front of People's Palace of Culture"]

[Text] Sofia, 11 March (BTA)—"We are not Bulgarians, Serbians, or Greeks—We are Macedonians and nothing else," "I am a proud Macedonian," "United Macedonia—guarantee of peace."

With such slogans and against the background of Serbian music some 30 people gathered today at the garden in front of the People's Palace of Culture. The rally, organized by the "Ilinden" Independent Macedonian Organization evoked a spontaneous reaction of protest on the part of the numerous citizens. Their chanting—"Separatists, Serbian servants, There is no nation with two histories," and "Long live Slavonic unity," silenced the provocative replies "Zhivkovite nationalists." The presence of representatives of the People's Militia did not allow the verbal attack to develop into sharper actions.

The defenders of the rights of the "Macedonian minority" in Bulgaria headed toward the National Assembly and submitted a petition. Throughout the streets they were accompanied by the protest exclamations of hundreds of Sofia citizens.

Thousands of Bulgarian citizens, who live in Pirin Macedonia, disagree with the negation of their right to national self-determination as Macedonians. This is the right of every person, and not the right of the governments in Sofia, Belgrade, Athens, and Tirana, the petition reads.

We, Macedonians from Pirin Macedonia, are equal citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and have the constitutional right to self-determination of our national belonging. We do not intend to secede from Bulgaria's territory.

Parties, organizations, and movements already expressed their attitude today toward the demands of the rally.

The declaration of the Committee on Defense of National Interests—Sofia, denounces the "organized demonstration of separatism and betrayal," expressed in the demands for cultural-national autonomy for the

Macedonians in Bulgaria. On behalf of its members, the committee declares that Bulgaria is our motherland, which is constitutionally united and inseparable!

The claims of the "Ilinden" organization members are denounced with indignation, because they have been prompted by great Serbian chauvinism and Yugoslav Macedonism.

In its appeal, the Bulgarian National-Radical Party defines this act as an attempt against the territorial integrity of the country and a continuation of the anti-Bulgarian campaign of neighboring Yugoslavia. This is an act directed against our state and national interests.

With this rally, no matter how pitiful its essence was, the anti-Bulgarian campaign crossed our state borders. The appeal calls upon all Bulgarian citizens, regardless of their party affiliation, to participate in the protest rally that the party intends to organize, in order to nip in the bud any further attempts against our national interests.

The members of the Movement of Defense of National Rights and the "Todor Aleksandrov" Bulgarian Cultural-Educational Association in Petrich also condemned the action of the "Ilinden" Independent Macedonian Organization in Bulgaria, and define it as treacherous. They warmly support the National Assembly's 6 March declaration in connection with the appeal of the SFRY Assembly and the anti-Bulgarian statements and attacks in Yugoslavia.

Now that we saw the defeat of the administrative-command and totalitarian system and experienced the initial taste of total freedom of personality, we reject every interference from outside. Do not touch our holy Bulgarian name with your dirty hands!

Sofia Macedonian Organization's Declaration

AU0803080590 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 3 Mar 90 p 18

[Unattributed report: "Declaration by the Independent 'Macedonian Organization'—'Ilinden' (VMRO—independent)"]

[Text] A letter has reached our editorial offices informing us that an independent "Macedonian Organization"—"Ilinden" [Ilinden, St. Elijah's Day, was the day of a Macedonian uprising against the Turks in 1903]—was set up in Sofia on 14 November 1989, and a declaration-platform and a statute of the organization were adopted. Considering that they will arouse public interest, we publish the essence of two documents of the independent "Macedonian Organization"—"Ilinden."

The declaration says that the independent Macedonian organization "Ilinden" is raising its voice as an alternative movement of the Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia, the settlers from the Aegean, Albanian, and Vardar Macedonia, and their descendants who now live in Bulgaria.

"Ilinden" will work with peaceful means for the country's rapid emergence from its political, economic, and spiritual crisis, for the generation and encouragement of intellectual and spiritual capacities, and for the elevation of the human spirit and of all those who think alike in the struggle for restructuring, reform, and democracy. The organization will not struggle toward violating the territorial integrity of the People's Republic [PR] of Bulgaria.

With joint endeavor of all their brothers and sisters all over the world, the platform says, "Ilinden" will struggle for the preservation of freedom of thought, of religion, and of ethnic peculiarities, for the promotion of various cultural and spiritual values with a completely new content, and for support for the process of restructuring in the PR Bulgaria.

The formation of "Ilinden" is in conformity with the Human Rights Declaration adopted in 1948, which Bulgaria signed in 1970. It is also in conformity with Article 52 of the Constitution of the PR Bulgaria.

Specific aims and tasks of "Ilinden" foresee that the door of the Vladimir Popotomov Macedonian Culture Hall will be open to all who accept the "Ilinden" platform.

The declaration-platform is signed by the leadership of the organization: President Georgi Solunski, Vice Presidents Bozidar Bojcev and Vasil Trunovski, Secretaries Konstantin Makedonski and Nikolja Zafirov, and Deputy Secretaries Bojko Sandanski and Valeri Ivanov. The representatives of "Ilinden" abroad are: Violeta Olceva, Pavle Galabov, and Paloma Ilieva in the United States, Canada, and Australia. The organization has its economist (Sergej Georgijev) and lawyer (Stojan Germanov).

The independent Macedonian organization "Ilinden" (VMRO—Independent) [VMRO are the initials of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization active in 1920's and 1930's] also adopted a statute, whose Article 1 says that the aim of the organization is to link all the migrants from Macedonia (Aegean, Albanian, Vardar, and Pirin) and their descendants who live in Bulgaria and abroad, on an ethnic basis.

Anybody, regardless of gender, religion, nationality, political conviction, or ethnicity, if not compromised in any way and having committed no infringements against society, may be a member of the organization if he respects the Statute of "Ilinden." The organization will not use violent methods, nor brutal, inhuman, or illegal means. Any members of the organization who commit acts violating the statute by this very fact cease to be members of the organization.

The statute of the independent "Macedonian Organization" "Ilinden" states that members are obliged to help each other like brothers. The organization will assist materially and morally all its members who sustain damage, repression, wrongly lose their job, and the like, and at the same time it will work for a return of their rights and for their obtaining moral satisfaction. The

organizations in the country will gather their members to celebrate important anniversaries of the Macedonian national liberation movement and its prominent leaders, as well as to make topical contributions to restructuring and democratization. In the country, "Ilinden" will publish and will support the publishing of books and music connected with the Ilinden Uprising in Macedonia.

In Sofia, the organization will have its "Ilinden" representative office, its newspaper, its publications, its theater, and its film company, all of them bearing the name of the organization. It will make documentary, feature, and television films on the Macedonian liberation deeds, on ethnic customs and folklore of Macedonian lands, as well as films on modern themes.

"Ilinden" will maintain close contacts in order to morally and spiritually draw together the emigrants from Macedonia (Aegean, Albanian, Vardar, and Pirin) who live in the United States, Canada, Australia, and all over the world, including the Macedonian political organizations in these countries that accept the "Ilinden" platform, the Central Organizational Committee for Macedonian Human Rights, and United Macedonia.

"Ilinden" will struggle against neo-Stalinism and Zhivkovism, which liquidated the rights of national minorities, including the right of the Macedonians who are citizens of Bulgaria.

The organization will support the right of self-determination of each citizen of the PR of Bulgaria, regardless of his religious or ethnic affiliation, to speak his language, and to have his schools, newspapers, and publications. "Ilinden" will struggle for a complete rehabilitation of tens of thousands of Macedonians, citizens of Bulgaria, who suffered during the repressions by Zhivkov's totalitarian regime. The organization does not struggle for power and has no territorial pretensions. The organization will hold its congress every year on 2 August, St. Elijah's Day, the day when the Ilinden Uprising broke out in Macedonia in 1903.

[Signed] The leadership of the independent "Macedonian Organization"—"Ilinden" (VMRO—Independent)

Interior Forces Spokesman Discusses New Tasks

AU2102105490 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 19 Feb 90 p 2

[Interview with Colonel Stefan Georgiev, "spokesman" of the interior troops, by Petur Petrov; place and date not given: "New Structures—New Tasks"]

[Text] [Petrov] Comrade Colonel, Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of internal affairs, in replying to an interpellation from delegates at the 14th Extraordinary Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Congress, declared that the staff of the internal troops would be eliminated and three of their battalions would be transferred to the border guards. What made it necessary to disband such troops that have equivalents in numerous democratic countries and who are simply in charge of defending the interests of national security?

[Georgiev] I think that Col. Gen. Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of national defense, in his statement to the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress, quite clearly defined the structural changes and the reorganization expected to take place within the Ministry of Internal Affairs, including the internal troops. This is in accordance with topical requirements about the qualitative restructuring and renewal in all spheres and activities.

In order to perfect the organization, to further improve the troops and see to their more effective use, it is expected to eliminate the staff of the internal troops, while three battalions will be transferred to the border guards. The administrative organs of the border and internal troops are expected to merge. This should evidently take place in the near future, following the issuance of an appropriate government document. Its basic point will be the establishment of a unified command and leadership staff for both troops. In this context, we should not be talking about disbanding the internal troops, but about transferring part of them to assist in the protection of our borders. This is required by the circumstance that the present number of border guard troops is extremely limited, and can successfully cope with its tasks of protecting the borders only with the help of engineering-technical installations. As the comrade minister declared, we are profoundly convinced that such installations should be eliminated as soon as possible. Under such circumstances, only a definite increase of the border troops is likely to guarantee a reliable protection of our borders.

[Petrov] Some of the personnel are supposed to be transferred to the border guards. What should be the fate and future of the other soldiers and commanders from the internal troops?

[Georgiev] The other units of the internal troops, though reduced in their number, will further pursue their usual tasks related to the protection of state institutions and to safeguarding public order in the country. They will continue to defend the people's interests and protect the rights and freedoms of our citizens.

[Petrov] Having been reestablished at the beginning of 1985, the internal troops have developed and strengthened. The necessary educational and material facilities and everyday life conditions were established for the training of the personnel. What purpose are these facilities expected to serve in the future?

[Georgiev] As is known, the reestablishment of the troops began in spring 1985 and was concluded in autumn 1986. Throughout the few years of their existence, the organizational strength of the troops was consolidated and their readiness to defend the motherland has increased. They currently can rely on modern educational and material facilities, which make an efficient

training process and normal everyday life activities possible. These facilities will evidently continue to develop in the future and efforts will be devoted to their most efficient use during the training and education of the personnel. Specific measures are being mapped out for further improving the training and education of the command staff and of the rank-and-file personnel. Greater care is devoted to their physical and psychological training of the troops, to their legal education, and to their knowledge and skill in getting acquainted with and correctly applying the laws of the country, including our basic law—the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. The question of organizing the soldiers and commanders as ardent patriots should always be the focus of the commanders' and educational organs' attention.

[Petrov] At the roundtable talks it was declared that blood was shed and soldiers marched over corpses during events of the so-called "national revival process." Is there some truth about such allegations, and what was the role of the internal troops in these events?

[Georgiev] We categorically reject all accusations, which in some form, or another, and usually in a distorted manner, are addressed against the internal troops in connection with the events related to the so-called "national revival process." I would like to mention again that the troops in question did not exist at the time when the names of the Turkish-speaking population were changed. Therefore, the sins ascribed to them and related to bloodshed and human victims, are pure inventions. The same applies to their actions in restoring law and order in some areas of the country in the spring and autumn of 1989. These actions were chiefly preventive, they were aimed at averting, or restricting the surging mass unrest. Even in connection with these events, the personnel of the internal troops cannot be accused of having caused casualties.

[Petrov] There have been rumors about the internal troops being transferred to the Ministry of National Defense. How true are they and what is the future fate of the troops?

[Georgiev] We have not been approached with the question of transferring the internal troops to the Ministry of National Defense. I think that this is not a topical issue. According to my personal view, this should not be done because the People's Army is supposed to defend the country against external aggression, while the internal troops, together with the other Ministry of Internal Affairs organs, are expected to guarantee the security, legal, and public order within the country.

Lilov Attends DELO Meeting, Offers Changes

AU1802193590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Feb 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Newspaper of Renewed Party"]

[Excerpts] A meeting of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO collective took place on 12 February. Supreme Council Chairman Aleksandur Lilov of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] announced the 8 February decision of the BCP Supreme Council Presidium. The decision points out that in the spirit of the decisions of the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress and the constantly increasing role of RABOTNICHESKO DELO under conditions of the complicated political situation in the country, it has been decided to relieve Radoslav Radev from the post of chief editor, because of Stefan Prodev's election to this post by the congress. Comradely gratitude was expressed to Radoslav Radev for his and the newspaper's selfless work, and wishes for further active participation in defending the party truth on the journalistic front were expressed.

The decisions relieve the existing Editorial Board of the newspaper, and appoints a new Editorial Board composed of: Dimitur Shumnaliev, first deputy chief editor; Valeri Naydenov, deputy chief editor; Goran Gotev, deputy chief editor; Rumyan Georgiev, deputy chief editor; Stepan Eramyan—responsible secretary; Georgi Tambuev, department head; and Radoslav Velev, department head. [passage omitted]

Questions were addressed to the BCP Supreme Council chairman and the chief editor. Silvestur Milchev expressed his profound bitterness caused by the manner in which he was released from his post and from the Editorial Board.

Aleksandur Lilov and Stefan Prodev answered him and responded to questions from other journalists. In conclusion, they expressed the conviction that RABOTNICHESKO DELO will respond to the exceptionally important tasks and responsibilities, which the time and party pose to the newspaper under conditions of restructuring in our country.

Foreign Ministry on Aeroflot Flights to Cuba

AU1503074290 Sofia BTA in English 2248 GMT 14 Mar 90

["Statement of the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" —BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—In connection with the refusal of the Aeroflot Airlines to transport Bulgarian passengers who have not Irish visas along the route Moscow-Havana, the Consular Department of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been authorized to make the following statement:

Since the beginning of this year in Bulgaria there has been a growing interests in tourist travels to Havana on the planes of airlines which land in Shannon—Ireland and Gander—Canada to take fuel. During the short stay there many Bulgarian citizens leave the airport transit halls and declare themselves to be emigrants. By March 10 this year 749 people remained in Canada and 218

people in Ireland, the latter pressing claims to the Irish side to be transported to Canada.

With their acts and claims the passengers put the Irish migration authorities in a very difficult position which is aggravated by the fact that Canada refuses to accept the immigrants. As a result of this situation and the subsequent warnings on the part of Canada and Ireland that the flights of the Soviet airlines through the territory of Ireland and Canada will be suspended, Aeroflot categorically refused to transport Bulgarian passengers along the line Sofia-Moscow-Havana.

The refusal of Aeroflot was received with resentment and protests by the Bulgarian citizens who had booked flights on the same line.

When the Consular Department was informed about the case on March 12, it immediately made the necessary steps to clarify the matter. Its officials contacted the Embassy of Ireland in Vienna and the Department of Foreign Affairs of Ireland on the telephone and by telex. A telex was received from the Embassy of Ireland in Vienna which said that no Irish transit visas are required for passing in transit through the Shannon airport. On the other hand a responsible official of the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs stated that the Bulgarian citizens flying on the Aeroflot planes should have transit visas only in case they leave the plane for a short time. As there is a discrepancy between the information received from Vienna and Dublin, the Consular Department asked the Department of Foreign Affairs of Ireland for a written confirmation of their statement, requesting information about the conditions for obtaining transit visas. No reply has been received yet.

In the meantime, at the request of the Consular Department, an urgent meeting was organized at the department with a representative of the Embassy of Canada in Belgrade, which is accredited to Bulgaria, too. He stated that he had been authorized by his government to express concern with regard to some Bulgarian citizens' illegal arrival and stay in Canada and asked the Bulgarian side to take energetic measures to stop the travels of Bulgarian citizens to Canada if they have not got the necessary documents.

The Consular Department was informed by the Balkan Airlines that Aeroflot is ready to transport the Bulgarian citizens who had booked their flights before March 12, 1990 to Havana on planes which do not land in the territory of Ireland and Canada.

US, British Election 'Experts' Meet UDF

AU1403201990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Following their visits to Sofia and Plovdiv, the six experts from the election campaign institutes of the U.S. Republican and Democratic parties, and from the Conservative Party of Great Britain met with members and supporters of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] in Lovech.

During the discussion that took place in the youth club, they shared their experiences that might be useful for the opposition democratic forces in the forthcoming election struggle in our country.

At a news conference shortly after the meeting, they dwelled on certain principles of democratic elections, which are mainly expressed in the opportunity for people of casting their vote in freedom, without being afraid, and showing their personal preference for a given party.

It was also stressed that the opportunity for every party to have equal access to the mass media is also an important prerequisite for democratic elections.

Reportage on Ishpekov's Visit to Iran

WA1503142090

For reportage on the visit by Deputy Foreign Minister Filip Ishpekov to Iran, please see the Iran section of the 15 March Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Hungarian President's Letter Increases 'Tension'

LD1403191690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Our editor Ludmila Stanova comments on the letter of Matyas Szuros to our President Vaclav Havel on the problems of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia:

[Stanova] We have been observing the increase of tension in Slovak-Hungarian relations for quite some time. Therefore it is quite understandable that the letter of Hungarian interim President Matyas Szuros caused agitation and actually increased the concern of the Slovak general public. I must admit when I read the full text of the CTK news item I doubted its veracity and I thought for a moment that it is only another very well-planned action of a hitherto unidentified group of people who disorient and incite both sides. Everybody who knows the situation in southern Slovakia even slightly and knows that people who used to live side by side quite happily but have suddenly started to quarrel must necessarily see behind this the intrigues of a third party.

Vladimir Meciar, minister of the interior and the environment of the Slovak Republic, has named this third party. In his view, these are former normalizers and consolidators for whom a muddled political situation is rather convenient and who perhaps still hope for a change in a direction that would benefit them.

It is quite possible that this echo, the echo of this group of people, also reached the president of the Hungarian Republic.

Permit me three remarks in connection with his letter. First, it is regrettable that the situation of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia is not improving. I do not contradict this, but I ask: Is the situation of Czechs and Slovaks generally improving? I think that it is not necessary to underline the complexity of the current internal political situation, that so far we have here everything possible but not democracy, and that the way toward democracy is made more difficult by nationality clashes.

My second comment concerns the fact that Mr. Szuros finds it surprising that in building a new system of institutions in Czechoslovakia, the justified demands of nationalities, above all the Hungarian nationality, are not taken into consideration. I underline "above all the Hungarian nationality" and I ask why. If the Hungarian side, as is said in the letter, sees securing the rights of the nationalities as an inseparable part of democracy, then perhaps it should speak about the rights of all nationalities in the same way, and not "above all the Hungarians."

With regard to the first part of the sentence, that the justified requests of the nationalities are not taken into consideration, Ladislav Kovac, minister of education, youth and physical education of the Slovak Republic, could put forward an objection. He offered the representatives of the Hungarian minority active cooperation in the commission for the education system for nationalities in order to meet their demands halfway. The Hungarian Independent Initiative did not accept this cooperation because it insisted on the creation of a commission consisting purely of members of Hungarian nationality, and the proposal of Mr. Kovac was to create a mixed commission, that is, Hungarian-Ruthenian-Slovak. And therefore, as far as I know, the commission still does not exist, but the ministry is not to be blamed.

In conclusion, I give my third and last comment on the letter of Hungarian President Matyas Szuros to Vaclav Havel. It is more a question than a comment. I could not understand why Mr. Szuros, if he is really interested in the issue, did not turn to the Slovak Government or parliament. The problems of the Hungarian minority in our country are more or less problems of Slovak- Hungarian relations. And as you, esteemed listeners, see for yourselves, there are many questions in connection with the letter of the Hungarian president to the Czechoslovak president. I therefore tried to phone Mr. Matyas Szuros. He was, however, very busy as the Hungarian Parliament is in session today, and therefore he referred me to the deputy foreign minister of the Hungarian Republic, Imre Szokai. He did not explain all issues but he told me the following:

[begin recording] [Szokai in Hungarian fading into Slovak translation] At the moment the situation of the Hungarian minority in Czechoslovakia is not satisfactory because they did not receive as many places in the parliament as they needed.

[Stanova] And this was the answer to my last question why they did not turn to the Slovak government

[Szokai] Although we know that the situation in your country is also complicated with relations between the Czech and Slovak republics, that you are trying for equality and it is still not quite solved, a partner of our president can be a president of another sovereign state. [end recording]

Slovak Premier 'Saddened' by Letter

LD1403221390 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] The Government of the Slovak Republic met today in Bratislava. Magda Pospisilova reports:

[Pospisilova] The Slovak Government discussed several important reports and legislative measures. It paid particular attention to the problem of financing the election campaign. The proposal of the Ministry of Finance, Prices, and Wages of the Slovak Republic to give grants from the state budget to political parties, movements, and social organizations in the forthcoming election campaign, as you are no doubt aware, gave rise in the past few days to sharp protest from the National Front of

the Slovak Republic. It could in fact be called an overall spontaneous negative reaction. According to the government premier, this is a very important issue, and for this reason the Ministry of Finance, Prices, and Wages must rework it. The government is to discuss it again next week.

The second point of the session, which will no doubt interest you, is the proposal to expand production and increase supplies to the internal market. This concerns supplies from those sectors that fall under the Slovak Government. Last year there was a shortage of goods to the value of almost 1.5 billion korunas on the internal market. Together with the bulk buying of goods by the so-called one-day tourists, this created a complicated situation. A solution to it demands the adoption of extraordinary measures. The government therefore instructed the relevant ministers to work out proposals for the session of the CSSR Government in cooperation with the Czech Ministry of Trade and Tourism and the central organs of the federation.

The Government of the Slovak Republic today also devoted considerable attention to the nationalities question. As we informed you this morning in the Radio Journal, the government today also adopted a standpoint on the letter of acting Hungarian President Matyas Szuros to our president, Mr. Havel. Slovak Republic Premier Milan Cic described it to me in brief as follows:

[Begin recording] [Cic] Our reaction to the Hungarian president's letter is as follows: We are saddened by such an attitude to the nationalities question in our country, in particular to securing the rights of national minorities in Czechoslsovakia in general, because we have a relatively good system. The consitutional law for the Czechoslovak Federation also solves nationalities problems and we are striving to ensure, by means of a practical policy, that all citizens of the Czechoslovak Republic, regardless of nationality, have equal rights and liberties as citizens, and at the same time that they fulfil all their duties, equally regardless of their nationality. We wish to express —and in our standpoint we have expressed our stand unequivocally—that we continue to pay attention to the continuing improvement of mutual relations between our countries, between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Hungary. It is important to us that the situation concerning relations in Czechoslovakia, in particular in Slovakia, continues to improve, and that these relations develop on precisely the principles of democracy, humanism and other moral principles, in such a way as to represent a high level of tolerance.

At the same time, it is true that in our standpoint we are also expressing the requirement that appropriate attention is given to securing the rights of Slovaks living in Hungary or other countries.

[Pospisilova] There are also some voices calling for reciprocity in nationality relations. Can you also express an opinion on such views?

[Cic] There are also points being made in our country that perhaps in our standpoint, which we expressed at the public session of the government in Komarno, we may have done some damage when we said that we are not concerned with the principle of reciprocity, in the sense that if Slovaks living in Hungary or other states do not have the same conditions for their development, for their lives, as they would have in Slovakia, that we will backtrack, or rather that we will reduce certain rights for minorities here. We do not think that this would be a humane approach. We want to continue to develop the conditions of these nationalities living in Slovakia, or in Czechoslovakia, to improve their quality, to strengthen their rights. At the same time, we must do everything toward this end in the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia and in the policy of our republic, the Slovak Republic, so that we create an environment in the spiritual and cultural sphere, and the material sphere in other countries, so that they keep drawing closer to the conditions which we have in our country for the nationalities, whether this concerns the Hungarian nationality, the Ruthenian-Ukrainian nationality, or the Polish or German.

We act according to both the international and United Nations documents that deal with these questions. We are adjusting our legal system according to this principle, and at the same time we are not only adjusting it but developing it in many directions. I personally am convinced that if we make a serious analysis of the situation, and that means also a sociological one, then we are doing this; today we adopted a whole number of measures that concern these questions. We wish to proceed very objectively concerning these problems toward a certain, earnest, and objectively prepared meeting, for example with the Hungarian side. We are not trying to avoid dealing with areas where we have shortcomings. That would not make sense. On the contrary, during talks with representatives of the Hungarian Republic, we will be striving very vehemently and consistently to ensure that they take into account all of our arguments, whether this concerns the social area, the economic area, the spitirual, cultural, education area, and so on. [end recording]

Government Issues Statement

LD1403222890 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Excerpts] The Government of the Slovak Republic was in session in Bratislava today. Among other things, it adopted a standpoint on the letter of Matyas Szuros, Republic of Hungary acting president, to Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel. [passage omitted]

The Government of the Slovak Republic has decided to adopt the following standpoint on the letter.

Like the Government of the Republic of Hungary, the Government of the Slovak Republic wants a continual and all-around improvement of mutual relations between the two countries. It proceeds from the reality that our two states are currently exerting all their efforts

in their endeavor to overcome the foul legacy of former totalitarian regimes, and are trying to achieve an all-around democratization of political and social life.

It is only natural that in this movement and in the democratization of our everyday life, it is the issue of the nationalities' policy that is coming to the forefront in our two states, and that is becoming a subject of public discussion. The Government of the Slovak Republic is systematically discussing at its sessions the issues of nationalities' policy and is solving them at the same time. This is also documented by the results of its public session in Komarno on 5 March this year, in which representatives of the Hungarian nationality, Slovak and Hungarian civic initiatives, and representatives of state authority and administration from the districts of Southern Slovakia participated. Numerous important questions were tabled in an open and democratic discussion. The conclusions of this session testify to the positive efforts of the government to improve the quality of these relations within the framework of advancing the process of democratization. This is why it is difficult to understand that a letter, the contents of which does not correspond to the present reality, and that hampers the Slovak Government's efforts in tackling the problems, has arrived amid the situation that is developing so positively. With regard to the problems of nationalities, the Government of the Slovak Republic has adopted a whole range of specific measures in all walks of life which are in complete harmony with the provisions of the UN Universal Declaration on Human and Political Rights of Citizens, including the rights of peoples and nationalities.

The Slovak Government highly praises the positive acts of the citizens of Hungarian nationality, who, as citizens of the Czechoslovak state, push for an equal position in the Slovak Republic within the framework of the federation. They align themselves with the process of building a pluralist democratic society and with implementing the policy of nationalities' rights and tolerance. Individual extreme views, which are sometimes heard, even in the advancing democratization of our life, were unanimously denounced by the participation at a public session of the Slovak Republic Government.

It is our common goal not to kindle extreme standpoints, but to overcome them by means of a positive nationalities policy. The proof of the correctness of this path was also shown by a considerable dampening of passions after the session of the Slovak Republic Government in Komarno. Unfortunately, the aforementioned letter by the Hungarian representative has created ripples on the smooth surface of views, and has evoked an unfavorable response from the Slovak public.

The Slovak Republic Government concerns itself with the systematic improvement of mutual relations between the two countries. It is ready for speedy mutual talks which will lead to a lasting improvement of relations and to guaranteeing the rights of members of the Hungarian nationality living in Slovakia, as well as the rights of Slovaks living in Hungary.

Anonymous Caller Threatens To Assassinate Havel

AU1503144590

[Editorial Report] Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech on 12 March carries a 300-word Vladimir Soukup commentary entitled "10 Dead in Wenceslas Square and an Attempt on V. Havel's Life on Top." The commentary ponders the causes of the growing number of bomb scares and anonymous threats in present-day Czechoslovakia and appeals to the perpetrators to stop this "Czechoslovak peculiarity." Soukup mentions that "during the weekend" (10 or 11 March) an anonymous caller left the following message on VECERNI PRAHA's answering machine: "A message for the prosecutor's office—if you do not release the unlawfully detained Stepan within 10 days, I will shoot 10 persons in Wenceslas Square on 21 March and will then assassinate the jailbird Vaclav Havel. Greetings. The Beret 89 organization."

Defense Minister Explains Conscription Amendment

LD1403133190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, minister of national defense, explained at the 25th joint meeting of the Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly the draft bill that amends the defense law.

He said that the amendment concentrates only on the most topical legal relations with regard to the conscription of citizens, in particular young people, and respects the principle that the amendment should not impair the sensible defense capability and combat ability of the overall Armed Forces. Their role in maintaining security inside the state is to be limited: The Armed Forces can only be used in the future in the case of a direct forcible attack against the constitutional system.

The conscript and service duty of women is limited only to the period of emergency measures if they do not take it up voluntarily.

The draft bill guarantees the freedom of speech and of religious faith, including participation in religious services for soldiers on active service. The draft bill envisions the reduction of basic military service to 18 months.

The joint speakers of the two chambers have recommended endorsement of the bill amending the defense law.

More on Amendment Proposal

LD1403205590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0930 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] The defense [branny] bill, the bill on civil service and other draft bills—this is a brief headline that sums up the program of the 25th joint session of both chambers of the Federal Assembly. Lubos Lidicky, who is following the proceedings, brings you more details now:

[Lidicky] At present the first item on the agenda is being discussed. It is the draft bill that amends the defense bill. The new bill has already been explained by Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek. He has stressed the fact that this is, without any doubt, one of the most important and topical bills, especially at present when close cooperation among states of the West and the East is being formed on a new political basis.

The draft bill contains, for example, reduction of basic military service to 18 months. The holiday period is being extended to 30 days. The basic military service of university graduates is nine months. The bill also ensures constitutional rights of soldiers, the freedom of their religious faith, and the possibility of attending religious ceremonies. Minister Vacek has stressed that if there are enough conscripts, the Ministry of National Defense could then consider even further reduction of basic military service. This depends also on the number of deferments and the civil service.

The reduction of the basic military service will, however, result in an increase of expenditure by approximately 45 million korunas annually. This is connected with a faster turnover in calling up people to the Armed Forces, their material provisions, and equipment and transport. On the other hand, however, the fact that 90,000 reservists will not be called up will save up to 1,500 million korunas from the state budget. The measures adopted respect the principle that their implementation should not weaken preparations for defense and combat ability of the Armed Forces of our republic. This is all from the first half-hour of the parliament session for the time being. I will brief you about further proceedings in our subsequent bulletins.

Assembly Passes Amended Defense Law

LD1403205890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] The Federal Assembly has passed the civilian service law today. In contrast to the original draft, candidates need not apply to the relevant national committee commission for civilian service; they need only declare in writing that they object to carrying out active military service.

The Federal Assembly deputies also approved the amended defense law today. At the last moment, one article was added to the bill under which soldiers on active service will in the future have their membership to, and activity in, political parties suspended.

A bill proposing that the nine-month basic military service for graduates of university military departments be directly established in law failed to be passed. Half-duration military service for graduates of universities will continue to be regulated by government decree.

Federal Assembly Plans Continuous Session

AU1503094290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Feb 90 pp 1,3

["ada,nig"-signed report: "Are Deputies to Become Professionals?"]

[Excerpt] Prague (from our correspondents)— For the next two months the Federal Assembly will be virtually in permanent session. This information ensues from the speech of Chairman Alexander Dubcek at the 8 March meeting with journalists in which other leading members of our highest legislative body also participated.

All the Federal Assembly deputies will receive a letter in which they will be asked whether they agree with their professionalization through 15 May. This solution is necessary since in this period some 30 political and economic laws are to be considered at committee meetings and, subsequently, passed by the chambers. The joint meeting of the two chambers on 14 March will debate the draft amendment to the defense law, the civilian service law, the modification of the military oath and of the National Security Corps and Corrective Educational Corps members' oaths, and an amendment to the law on the National Security Corps. It is expected that the following session at the end of March will debate the president's proposals for changes in state symbols and some political laws regulating civic freedoms. The main point on the agenda is the debate on the state budget law. According to information from the news conference, it is possible that on 27 or 28 March the private enterprise law will also be debated so that it may come into force, as expected by the public, on 1 April. Originally, this law was planned for debate at the April meeting of the Federal Assembly. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views German Reunification Favorably

AU1303202990 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 10 Mar 90 p 1

["(JS)"-signed commentary: "Germany, Europe, and Us"]

[Text] One hundred and twenty years ago, when Bismarck united Germany with sword and fire under the Prussian scepter, many people were afraid of the consequences of Hohenzollern Prussia's supremacy in Germany, but the reality of German unity satisfied everyone. Three centuries later, when Germany had been divided after World War II, everyone considered this to be expedient and correct, but hardly anyone believed that Germany would remain divided forever.

Paradoxically, the divided Germany became a factor of European stability and balance and, at the same time, it was viewed as evidence of a divided Europe with all the consequences and threats to peace on our continent. The stormy events of 1989 paved the way toward establishing a single German state.

Today, there is no force that would cast doubts upon the logic and correctness of this step. First and foremost, the German people have an indisputable right to self-determination. However, reservations and anxieties about German unification exist and persist. During 75 years of its united existence, Germany caused two world wars; the second one in particular is still remembered by many people. It was an especially destructive and barbaric conflict. It is no surprise that the European states' fundamental agreement with German unification is accompanied by endeavors to ensure that, this time, German unity brings a greater degree of security and stability to Europe. First and foremost, this involves the borders issue. The present European borders evolved after World War II; they are a result of the war. We realize that changing them by peaceful means is, perhaps, difficult. Therefore, not only in Prague but also in Washington, London, Paris, and other capital cities, appeals have been made for caution, circumspection, balance, and for the express recognition of existing borders, first and foremost, of the German-Polish border on the Oder and Neisse. The federal chancellor's hesitant stance on this issue and his shoving aside of a guarantee for Poland's borders until a statement could be made by the future German parliament did not introduce much harmony into this issue. The chancellor's stance was dictated by electoral considerations—the extreme right wing is threatening his party by taking away some voters influenced by fanatical nationalism. Despite this, both a considerable part of the West German political spectrum—including Kohl's coalition partners—and the whole of Europe wanted to hear a clear signal from Bonn. Finally, it was heard. Helmut Kohl stated that the unalterable nature of the borders is now guaranteed on the German side.

Immediately after making his statement in Bonn, the chancellor headed for Brussels to assure his allies about the Federal Republic of Germany's stance. Washington, London, and Paris are behaving with circumspection, although they sincerely and unequivocally support German unification. The Italians would also like to have their say about the process surrounding the unification of both German states.

German unification is undoubtedly a method for peaceful incorporation into the process of intensifying European security and cooperation. It is becoming the collective work of Europe, or rather, of the whole region, incorporated into the Helsinki process. It is natural that Czechoslovakia, which clearly welcomes this development, shares Polish stances and endeavors to ensure that Poland's borders are guaranteed internationally. If the unification of Germany is to be a step toward a lasting peace and deeper cooperation within the framework of an undivided Europe, the step that Chancellor Kohl has agreed to must be taken and must be guaranteed in a treaty by the international community.

The unification of Germany will give rise to an economic colossus in the heart of Europe. It arouses hopes and also—among its closest allies—fears. The fact that German unification is becoming the common endeavor of all participants in the Helsinki process provides a guarantee that a united Germany will be a peaceful factor. The far-reaching changes in Central and Eastern Europe, which have literally changed the shape of the continent, paved the way toward German unity. The future Germany has a magnificent role in this scene, a role which it can only play as a peace loving democratic state in a peace loving democratic Europe that is secure for all.

Mohorita Sees 'Historic Opportunity' for Europe

LD1503094490 Prague CTK in English 0840 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 15 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party First Secretary Vasil Mohorita has said that a possible weakening of Gorbachev's positions could have negative and incalculable effects on the shaping of European security.

In an interview carried by today's Communist Party paper RUDE PRAVO, Mohorita said changes in Central and Eastern Europe were of a key importance in the present international situation. Europeans have a historic opportunity as the cold war is becoming a matter of the past and it is necessary now to build a new structure of all-European security but not on the basis of the existence of the two blocs. In this context Mohorita put emphasis on creating conditions for strengthening confidence, equality and mutually advantageous cooperation of all European countries, and attached primary importance to the continuation of the Helsinki process.

Vasil Mohorita went on to say that Czechoslovakia can join the all-European process only as a sovereign state. "This requires orientating our foreign policy towards building equal relations with all countries and settling the issue of Czechoslovakia's security in the context of the future system of collective security in Europe in a new way. I can say for our party that an end must be put once and for all to blind attachment to anyone. I have in mind both the East and West," Mohorita said. In his opinion Czechoslovakia should at present seek bilateral agreements with the big powers and the neighbouring states, including a new treaty with the USSR. These agreements, together with multilateral guarantees, would complement Czechoslovakia's security system, Mohorita thought and did not rule out the posibility of Czechoslovakia's future neutrality. Neutrality, however, will have a new shape in the future in connection with the all-European process.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party leader pointed out that the Soviet Union will also in the future represent

one of the main factors of a new European order and that developments in the USSR will have a particular influence on European security.

Referring to the unification of Germany, Mohorita said it is in line with the wish of the German nation and its right to self-determination. "Clear guarantees of security, territorial integrity and of the present borders of the neighbouring countries on a legal footing, received from the German side as soon as possible, would contribute towards a settlement of this issue. This is also in our national interest," he said and added that "it is not enough only to express understanding for Poland's concern. Polish demands must be supported. Germany's unification must be in harmony with the all-European process," Mohorita said and rejected considerations of a possibility to build U.S. military bases on East German territory as this would upset the balance, confidence and security in Europe as well as the prospects of the Helsinki process.

Commission Issues Complaint Against CPCZ

LD1403195790 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Today, representatives of the legal support club and the independent investigation commission issued a complaint against the work of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] between the years 1948-1989. It accuses an unspecified number of officials of the total of 14 criminal offenses, which include the embezzlement of property in socialist ownership, the abuse of public authority, the violation of other people's rights, and the restriction and deprivation of personal freedom. It also includes genocide, the support and promotion of fascism and other movements, as well as violence against a group of citizens and individuals.

Dienstbier Meets With Thai Counterpart

BK1303150790 Bangkok Domestic Service in Thai 1300 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Foreign Minister Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila, who is currently on a visit to East European countries, yesterday [12 March] met Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier in Prague.

Information Department Director General Sompong Faichampa reported that the two ministers exchanged views on bilateral relations and ways to promote and expand relations, especially in economic and trade cooperation.

Both sides agreed to open embassies in their respective capitals to facilitate and follow up work under the plan to promote and expand bilateral relations. Both sides agreed to work out agreements that will serve the purpose of promoting and expanding cooperation. They are, for example, the agreements on exemption of double taxation, on support and protection of investment, and on scientific and technological cooperation.

They also agreed on more exchanges of delegations from various fields and at various levels, both from the government and the private sector, to promote cooperation on the basis of mutual interests, and to encourage exchanges of visits between the peoples of both countries. They agreed that there is room to expand cultural relations, which can begin with a program of student exchanges, for example.

Air Chief Marshal Sitthi took the opportunity to invite the Czechoslovak foreign minister to pay an official visit to Thailand.

Received by Pancir

LD1303134290 Prague CTK in English 1651 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 12—Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Josef Pancir today received Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila, currently on an official visit to Czechoslovakia.

The two officials stated with satisfaction the dynamic growth of the trade exchange which rose three-fold in the past three years, and spoke about the prospects of furthering economic and commercial ties in connection with the reform of Czechoslovak economy.

Bank Halts Exchange of GDR Marks for Tourism

LD1403185190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Here is an important announcement: The CSSR State Bank has decided that as a result of a temporary shortage of East German marks, and in order to prevent speculation in foreign currency, the sale of East German marks for nonorganized tourist trips is being temporarily halted, effective immediately.

Henceforth, only pocket money wil be sold to those taking part in organized tourist trips up to a value of 2,000 korunas per person per stay.

The media will inform the public promptly once the sale begins again.

Czech Council Approves Bill on State Emblem

LD1303143190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Deputies of the Czech National Council approved today, by an overwhelming majority of votes, the bill on state symbols of the Czech Republic. The symbols are: a large emblem that has four sections, a small emblem with the Czech lion, the red-and-white state flag, and the state anthem —the song "Where is my Homeland."

In the course of a short debate, deputies recalled the fact that the Czech National Council dealt with the symbols of Czech statehood 20 years ago; but after the intervention of the so-called normalization, the approval of

relevant bills was not achieved. Among the views in the debate expressing approval only one deputy cast doubts about the draft bill.

The Czech National Council then examined another draft constitutional bill concerning the use of the state emblem and the state flag of the Czech Republic. As a result of committee debates, there were 14 comments on the original version. One of them concerned the possibility of the small state emblem being used on festive occasions by individual citizens and citizens' associations. After further debating procedures, during a break of the session, a decision was made to broaden the use of both the small and the large state emblem in a suitable and dignified manner. Two deputies spoke against this proposal. Their objections were rejected.

After a debate, the Czech National Council approved the draft constitutional bill, with amendments, on the use of the state emblem and the state flag of the Czech Republic.

Communications Minister Criticizes Industry

AU1403115790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Mar p 4

["val"-signed report: "Hello, Communications!"]

[Text] Prague (From our correspondent)— At a news conference in Prague on 7 March, Federal Communications Minister Robert Martinko spoke about the unsatisfactory situation in Czechoslovak communications, which concerns mainly the telecommunications network. He said that the cause was past underestimation of the role of communications, which served mainly as a source of income for the state coffers. The technological equipment is mostly obsolete and, in addition to that, our industry does not offer technology and equipment of the necessary standard. The only piece of information that could, perhaps, satisfy us is that our first television channel covers 95.3 percent and the second channel almost 82 percent of our territory. On the other hand, the 264 telephone stations per thousand inhabitants make our situation two to three times worse compared with the developed countries. The number of telephone applications is constantly increasing, especially in big cities; the 372,000 pending applications are not, therefore, a final figure.

On the subject of the special telephone network, Minister Martinko said that its secret status had been canceled so that this network might be available to senior management personnel, or, as the case may be, to interested persons from the ranks of nascent entrepreneurs.

Slovak Journalists Appeal for Campaign Ethics

LD1303232690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Our elections and the political activity of all the parties and movements involved are very close now. (Vladimir Stefko), director of Slovak radio, asked us for an opportunity to address you.

[(Stefko)] Esteemed listeners: Allow me, in my position as Slovak Syndicate of Journalists deputy chairman, to appeal to you on the occasion of the election campaign.

We are less than three months away from an event that we last experienced in our country over 40 years ago. We will experience free elections. We must bring the 17 November revolution, which has preserved its truly civilized face, to its democratic culmination. The elections will be a political solution to the situation that was created in Czechoslovakia by the disappearance of the monopoly of one party and become the expression of the will of all the citizens of our country. These elections will give us democratically elected representatives of the people. They will become the leaders of our state and will lead our country through the forthcoming complicated internal and external political situation.

We appeal to you: Let us not tie the hands of these elected representatives of the people by smearing the election campaign with undemocratic, violent acts. We appeal to you to be tolerant of each other, to respect rival's rights, to express your views, and to spread them. Let us not use methods that can besmirch our human image, that can smear the human image of our gentle velvet revolution—not even in a situation when the election fight is culminating and deepening.

Let us bear in mind that the final aim of the election period is not the fight itself, not even the victory, but an opportunity to make use of the election victory for active, industrious, and purposeful work for the benefit of our society.

Only those who will enter the new period with their hands clean, with a clean democratic shield, with a reputation of a person and party that employs only honest methods of political competition and behaves toward an ally or rival with equal respect, will be able to do this work. Let us preserve the high standards for which the people of this country are becoming well known.

To paraphrase a philosopher: I disagree with your view from my heart but I will give my life for your right to express it. Let us behave in this great test of democracy, above all, as the people who are destined to live one beside the other, live together.

The Slovak Syndicate of Journalists

Democratic Forum Outlines Policy Objectives

LD1403121890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Representatives of the newly registered political party The Czechoslovak Democratic Forum reported in Prague today on policy objectives for this political party. This is why Jarmila Horakova invited to the microphone Rudolf Prevratil, chairman of its policy department.

[Begin recording] [Horakova] Your policy statement says that you wish to be a left-wing political party that fully adheres to pluralist democracy. Where can you see the main difference between your party and other left-wing parties in our country?

[Prevratil] I think that right now it is not important to talk about differences. It is not at all simple, because political left-wing parties are now shaping up. We wish to consistently protect the interests of the working people, or those who make their living directly by their work, those who are in employment—such as workers, intelligentsia, and staff as well as small- business men, small owners, and in the future also students. We stand fully for pluralist democracy and for a market economy. First, we consider very important the way in which this new system will be achieved. Second, who will be the one to take the main brunt, and third—what will the long-term prospects be like? For example, we are concerned that the burden should be divided in a just way, that at least the basic social gurantees should be preserved. In housing management this will mean protection of tenants, it will mean a certain degree of indexation of all income in the social sphere according to the growth of the cost of living, the setting of a minimum income and adherence to minimum wages... it will be an entire complex of these questions. [end recording]

Kohl Addresses Rally of 300,000 in Leipzig

LD1403185990 Hamburg DPA in German 1756 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Leipzig (DPA)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl (Christian Democratic Union) this evening emphatically declared his belief in the lasting existence of the Polish borders during his last GDR election campaign rally in Leipzig before the People's Chamber election this coming Sunday.

According to the event organizers, there were around 300,000 people on the Karl Marx Platz of the fair city. Kohl called to them: "We wish to offer our hand to the Poles—no one needs fear German unity." The Germans are in favor of the Poles living in secure borders, and "are ready to say and decide the necessary things for this."

Kohl addressed a sea of German flags and was celebrated again and again by calls of "Helmut, Helmut." The CDU chairman said that foreign countries should now also understand what it means "when there is the opportunity to be able to tread the path of unity after more than 40 years." The chancellor added: "There will never be a Fourth Reich; we have learned from history." [passage omitted]

Kohl and the chairmen of the three parties contesting the GDR election as the "Alliance for Germany," affirmed to journalists beforehand that they intend to continue to cooperate despite the Schnur affair. Kohl spoke of "human failings." The Democratic Awakening would remain a partner of the CDU and an important force. German Social Union head Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling said that even if Schnur had "gambled away trust," his party stands behind the Democratic Awakening, which is "full of integrity and straight down the line." GDR-CDU head Lothar de Maiziere made a similar statement. [passage omitted]

Speaks About 'Economic Miracle'

LD1403193290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1839 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—When the first freely elected government in the GDR is in office, monetary union will follow soon after. Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl put forward this opinion on Leipzig's Karl Marx Platz this evening. He went on to tell around 250,000 participants in an "Alliance for Germany" election rally that he is not prepared to invest money in a bad system. However, thousands of firms from the FRG and around the world are ready, if there are relevant framework conditions, to come to the GDR.

In his speech, which lasted about an hour, the chancellor warned against exaggerated fears about unification that are being stirred up, and promised financial support for pensioners and the unemployed when there is economic and monetary union. The GDR can hope for financing of the linkage from the FRG [to the FRG's pension system] while the pensions system is being changed, and there will also be financial aid to set up modern unemployment insurance.

The German question can only be settled under the European roof, Kohl said. There will never be a Fourth Reich. The chancellor assured Poland especially that this nation can live without fear within secure borders. Steps to guarantee this are being initiated.

The chancellor also raised the prospect of an economic miracle in the GDR when the social market economy is introduced. People here are just as hard-working and intelligent as those in the Federal Republic, he said to applause from the crowd, who waved black, red, and gold flags.

Kohl did not mention the resignation of Democratic Awakening Chairman Wolfgang Schnur. However, he did speak in favor of voting for the Alliance on 18 March. He has great respect for the candidates being put forward by the alliance, "personally" as well.

The previous speakers at the square in front of the Opera House were German Social Union Chairman Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling, Democratic Awakening General Secretary Oswald Wutzke, and GDR Christian Democratic Union Chairman Lothar de Maiziere.

Clashes Follow Rally

LD1403214190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2045 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—At the end of the Alliance for Germany's rally, there was physical violence shortly after 1900 today on the grounds of Karl Marx University in Leipzig. Emergency medical aid was given. The police say that three persons, including a pregnant woman, were injured. Eyewitnesses say the figure was higher. The woman has been discharged after being given medical treatment. The other two victims are still being treated in the hospital. [passage omitted]

Kohl Says Schnur Resignation 'Necessary'

LD1403164390 Hamburg DPA in German 1533 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Leipzig (DPA)—The Christian Democratic Union federal chairman, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, has described the affair involving the Stasi [State Security] activity of lawyer Wolfgang Schnur as "completely incomprehensible." On a flight from Bonn to Leipzig, where he intends to speak this evening at a rally of the "Alliance for Germany," the chancellor said on Wednesday: "There are a host of questions, but I cannot answer them".

In reference to the beginning of a new democratic development in the GDR, Kohl said that the resignation of the Democratic Awakening chairman was "necessary." There is nothing to embellish concerning the

affair. The situation has become, in Kohl's words, difficult above all because Schnur's party had no information of any kind: "We had to take the necessary steps ourselves." [passage omitted]

Sees 'Human Failing'

LD1403211390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1907 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl said at a news conference in Leipzig this afternoon that he continues to have confidence in Democratic Awakening. He spoke of human failing in the Schnur case. "It is one of our partner parties here in the GDR, and we have full confidence in the men and women who support and constitute that party. What has occurred here is a human failing. It is a bitter experience but I fully appreciate the political support and new thinking that has emerged from Democratic Awakening [DA] in these months and weeks," said Kohl. The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] in Bonn has acted as properly and quickly as posible. Kohl said the "Alliance for Germany" is not endangered.

DA Chairman Wolfgang Schnur, who has resigned, has been asked by the FRG CDU to draw the "necessary consequences" after admitting to cooperating with the former Ministry of State Security. This has been announced by CDU General Secretary Volker Ruehe. Schnur admitted to the FRG CDU that he had worked for the Ministry of State Security. The co-founder and previous chairman of DA has been asked to inform the party and the public in the GDR. [passage omitted]

More Developments on Schnur Case, Reaction

Revelation of Stasi Contacts

AU1403145490 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1200 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Lutz Krieger report from Berlin]

[Text] At a news conference in Berlin today, a statement was read in which Wolfgang Schnur admitted to having worked for the GDR State Security Service and to having held talks with Berlin Christian Democratic Union [CDU] chairman, Eberhard Diepgen, and Bremen CDU Chairman Bernd Neumann, who had been appointed by the CDU Federal Presidium to act as a sort of liaison to the Democratic Awakening.

What was announced at the news conference is this: On 12 March, Schnur, who is still hospitalized in East Berlin, entrusted himself to a liaison person, who promptly informed CDU Secretary General Ruehe. On 13 March, Bremen CDU Chairman Neumann visited Schnur in East Berlin, was informed about all the details, went to Cottbus, where Federal Chancellor Kohl held the keynote speech at an election rally of the Democratic Alliance, but did not reach the chancellor prior to his appearance at the function and only informed him after the rally.

The CDU held discussions in Bonn last night and agreed to the contents of the letter that Secretary-General Ruehe had written to Mr. Schnur and that was handed to him today. In the letter, Schnur's commitment as a lawyer is praised; nonetheless, it remains a fact that Mr. Schnur was a Stasi [GDR State Security Service] collaborator, Ruehe says and adds that those who work for a democratic party are bound to speak the truth, and the public must be informed.

This letter was handed to Mr. Schnur by Mr. Neumann and Mr. Diepgen. The letter touched off very different reactions within the Democratic Awakening in East Berlin. It did not lead to the reaction that the party itself should meet the press on this issue. In this respect, there was disagreement between the Democratic Awakening—or sections of it—on the one hand, and the CDU top officials, Diepgen and Neumann, on the other.

Diepgen and Neumann said at the news conference today that they considered it correct to expound the facts to the public. They said that they did not doubt the Democratic Awakening's integrity or the goals of this democratic party; however, they said, it remained a fact that the man at the top was a cheater.

He was a cheater not only in recent months, but according to insiders—and this was not said at the news conference—he had maintained contacts with the State Security Service since the sixties. According to these insiders, he was not burned by the State Security Service but by others who passed on the information to certain newspapers in East Berlin.

However, Schnur refused until the last minute—12 March—to admit to what is a reality. He has now been cornered by what leaked out and has made his confession. He is apparently in danger himself, because he has been placed under police protection in East Berlin.

Prosecutor Rules Out Forgery

LD1403161990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1441 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—According to GDR Prosecutor General Hans-Juergen Joseph, a forgery of the Stasi [State Security] files on the former DA [Democratic Awakening] Chairman Wolfgang Schnur can be ruled out. "On the basis of investigations and the report from a handwriting expert at the Berlin Criminal Institute, it has in the meantime been proven without doubt that there is no forgery here." This emerges from a statement by the prosecutor general's press office on the examination of relevant files in the State Security Service's former areas office in Rostock. There could therefore be no talk of a defamation of Wolfgang Schnur. [passage omitted]

Schnur Says He Was Tortured

AU1503102290 Hamburg BILD in German 15 Mar 90 pp 1,4

[Unattributed report: "Schnur—the End: They Tortured And Blackmailed Me"]

[Excerpt] "In 1964 I was forced, by being beaten and with torture-like methods, to sign a statement of obligation for the Ministry of State Security. During the past two decades, I have been persecuted, under observation, blackmailed, and threatened. They finished me off. I was subjected to a 48-hour interrogation as an alleged agent of the Federal Intelligence Service [BND]—there were specialists at work."

Wolfgang Schnur, who was until 14 March head of the liberal-conservative GDR party Democratic Awakening, explained to BILD in these moving words why he, the lawyer of so many people who were persecuted in the GDR, also worked as an informer for the Stasi [GDR State Security Service]. Yesterday, he admitted to this fact and resigned as a party chairman—immediately prior to the free elections in the GDR. [passage omitted]

Modrow Visits Schnur in Hospital

LD1403190890 Hamburg DPA in German 1748 GMT 14 Mar 90

[text] East Berlin (DPA)—Premier Hans Modrow (PDS) [Party of Democratic Socialism], today visited Wolfgang Schnur, the former Democratic Awakening (DA) chairman, in a hospital in East Berlin. They talked above all about personal matters. Modrow said that Schnur is afraid for his family and asked for protection.

He had not gone to Schnur as the premier, but as "Hans Modrow, whom he (Schnur) trusts." The cooperation with the Stasi has not been a topic, Modrow said to ZDF [second West German television]. They also talked about accusations from DA functionaries the previous day, according to which the PDS and Modrow were politically responsible for the "Stasi defamation campaign" against Schnur.

Democratic Awakening 'Deceived'

LD1403202590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1846 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The situation saddened him, "having to note this bitter and depressing truth." Democratic Awakening [DA] Deputy Chairman Dr. Bernd Findeis stated this in Berlin today at a well-attended international new conference given by the DA executive on the resignation of its chairman, Wolfgang Schnur. He read a statement in which its members expressed the feeling of having been deceived by Schnur's attitude.

Pastor Rainer Eppelmann called Schnur's behavior a "human and political tragedy." He was "sad and outraged" at it. Eppelmann himself and the party felt "deceived by a friend."

Eppelmann Chosen as Democratic Awakening Chairman

LD1503114390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1118 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Pastor Rainer Eppelmann is the new chairman of Democratic Awakening [DA]. This was decided at the main executive meeting of the DA this morning. Wolfgang Schnur, the former DA chairman, was expelled.

Eppelmann Does Not Rule Out Other Schnur Cases

AU1503104290 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1000 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Rainer Eppelmann, chairman-designate of the GDR Democratic Awakening, can well conceive of other Schnur cases. In a Deutschlandfunk interview today, Eppelmann said that he would like all the former State Security Service's files to be burned, even though he was aware that this was presumably not the right way either. He said that the files would have to be handed to very sensitive and very responsible jurists.

Eppelmann said that it was extremely difficult to assess the consequences Wolfgang Schnur's resignation would have for the Democratic Awakening. He said he could imagine that some people would turn away from the Democratic Awakening, but also that many would remain loyal to the party.

Allegations Against Social Union's Ebeling

LD1403215790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2100 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Allegations have been voiced against German Social Union Chairman Ebeling. As the newspaper DIE ANDERE reports today, Ebeling refused admission to Leipzig's St. Thomas Church to hundreds of demonstrators being pursued by the police on 2 October last year. Apart from this, he is said to have obtained two dachas, a sailboat, a nine-room apartment, and Lada cars from the special stock for the area leaders under the old Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

Police Commanders Warn of Stasi Infiltration

AU1503105290 Hamburg BILD in German 15 Mar 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Commanders Warn: Stasi Secret Police in the People's Police With Falsified Files"]

[Text] Magdeburg—Three commanders of the People's Police are sounding the alarm: "The Stasi's secret police are now infiltrating the People's Police!"

Major Volker Schueler (45), head of the Magdeburg-Central People's Police claims the following: "On the

orders of the Interior Ministry in Berlin, an 80-man-strong People's Police unit should be established 'for the protection of persons'—which is to include former Stasi members."

The applicants' personal files have allegedly been falsified. The documents of former Stasi members show them to be soldiers of the National People's Army. He knows the name of a former Stasi member who is a lieutenant colonel in the People's Police now. Another commander of the People's Police stated: "The old Stasi game will begin again. Surveillance, bugging, harassment, and brutal interrogations will continue—everything on the orders of the People's Police."

Former Security Chief Wolf on Stay in Moscow

AU1503123590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on interview with former GDR State Security Chief Markus Wolf by Moscow correspondent Klaus Joachim Herrmann; place and date not given: "If Citizens' Committees Control the Office for the Protection of the Constitution"]

[Excerpts] In an interview with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Markus Wolf took issue with rumors and assumptions spread by Western media on his stay in the Soviet Union. There was talk of escape and even the handing over of agents to the KGB. Markus Wolf said that a leading official in the West German Office for the Protection of the Constitution was responsible for launching such hoaxes. We also asked Markus Wolf the following: [passage omitted]

[Herrmann] What is the reason for your stay in Moscow?

[Wolf] In Moscow, or more precisely in its environs, I wanted to embark on a new book project. The situation was also a reason, although not the only one, to get away from it all. I think it is normal for anyone writing a book to seek peace and withdraw for some time. [passage omitted]

[Herrmann] Will you be back in the GDR for the elections on 18 March?

[Wolf] I have decided to continue the first phase of my work on the book. In addition, there is a lot of work in the Progress publishing house, which is also showing considerable interest in my new project. Therefore, I registered for the election in our embassy.

3d German Monetary Union Discussion Ends

LD1303175890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1642 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The third round of talks of the joint commission of experts of the GDR/FRG on monetary questions concluded 13 March in Berlin. It says in a press statement that there is agreement on continuing the talks soon. Confidentiality would continue to be maintained. Both sides shared the basic understanding that monetary union and economic community—supported by an interlocking social system—can be seen as a decisive step toward state unity. Modalities and a date for the monetary transition can only be decided within the overall interlocking system of all elements. These questions still need further deep, expert clarification. Decisions would have to be made by both governments.

In a press statement, considerable advances were noted in taking stock in the areas of currency, economy, and finances, as well as with regard to the need for economic reforms and measures for social security. Further work can be built on this basis.

The German-German body of experts concluded that the introduction of a social market economy represents the fundamental precondition for the elimination of the GDR's economic difficulties. Only in this way was it possible to quickly overcome supply failings, to enable the required flow of private capital, and to create new future-oriented job vacancies.

In this connection, the rapid stabilization of the GDR economy is named as the most important task to achieve its incorporation into international competitiveness. It is a matter of maintaining living standards and improving them step by step, safeguarding social security and giving it a robust foundation. Both sides described the monetary union and economic community as a central element so that the people remain in their homeland. [passage omitted]

Vice Premier on Leipzig Fair, Monetary Union

AU1403105790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Mar 90 p 2

[Interview with Christa Luft, GDR vice premier and economics minister, by Helfried Liebsch; place and date not given: "Important Signals for the People"]

[Text] [Liebsch] Mrs. Luft, the first day of the Leipzig Fair is over. Are you satisfied?

[Luft] Yes, because I think that the significance of this year's fair lies, above all, in the fact that combines and enterprises are negotiating with foreign partners and concluding agreements on how to ensure the future. In this respect, the various types of capital investments play an important role. On 11 March, a beginning was made by setting up quite a large number of limited liability companies [GmbH]. That will be continued in the next few days. In the phase of change that the country is undergoing now, this represents an important signal for the people. Internationally renowned firms have come to Leipzig to conclude agreements reaching far into the future.

[Liebsch] Despite all the croaking?

[Luft] I hope very much that the croaking will not turn into reality. Of course, we must not only compare figures

to gauge the fair's success. The point now is to create qualitatively totally new forms of far-reaching importance.

[Liebsch] How about possible exports?

[Luft] We still have good opportunities for exporting into the USSR and other East European countries. The next government should also cultivate these stable relations with the CEMA countries. Those who move away from these markets now will hardly be able to get access to them again later on. The West is observing the GDR's behavior very attentively. Every free place is occupied immediately. We must use our function as a bridge in East-West trade in both directions.

The GDR has opportunities for exporting into Western countries. When combines improve their competitiveness by means of a capital injection, the way can be paved for business deals. The talks held show that the GDR is a prospering market with many opportunities.

[Liebsch] That is surprising, because businessmen have also said that they hesitate to run the risk of making investments here before 18 March.

[Luft] The relevant textbooks on market economy always talk about risk as a principle. I do not quite see why businessmen are so reluctant to incur risk and why they make everything conditional on the election's result. That probably has little to do with market economy, but it has much to do with politics.

[Liebsch] Do the recent laws that were passed by the People's Chamber represent an obstacle to investments?

[Luft] The enterprises in this country certainly cannot solely be considered as a sphere of lucrative capital investments. The people who want to stay here must be able to identify with the economy. We need to have an inflow of capital; however, the economy must also always make sense to the people. Something is wrong with an economy where fewer and fewer people have increasingly more, whereas the masses of the people must accept social cuts. Whoever rejects the trade union law should know that he will then rightly be rebuffed by 8 million trade unionists. However, Leipzig has shown that capital is coming in, despite the trade union law.

[Liebsch] Do you insist that in the event of monetary union, savings accounts should be changed at a rate of one to one?

[Luft] The talks I held with Western banks and other competent persons in recent days have confirmed my view. A freeze period should be introduced for very large savings accounts, because if too much money suddenly flows into the market, it would result in a price increase that nobody wants.

However, business will not be harmed if it does not get a rate of one to one. We need to have a rate that offers a certain protection to our economy, allowing it in a lengthy process to adjust to the tough requirements of open competition. This will, of course, differ from branch to branch. However, once we have the Deutsche mark, we will immediately be an EC member. That will entail challenges for industry and agriculture, which we can only meet with programs on structural adjustment and harmonization. We need to have a rate that can be revalued. An exchange of one to one at this point would considerably harm the economy.

Berlin Regiment Soldiers on 'Token Strike'

LD1403120490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1057 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Members of the National People's Army "Friedrich Engels" Guards Regiment in Berlin held a token strike in front of the memorial for the victims of fascism and militarism in the Unter den Linden this morning. It was held in support of their demands to continue their Army service as civilian service and for better food and sanitary facilities. Company spokesman Private Joerge Kuehl told ADN that this step is the last chance to draw attention to the problems, after several petitions via official channels. He also expressed the fear that after members of the regiment have been released according to schedule at the end of April, the existing tasks will have to be carried out with replacements.

Regimental Commanding Officer Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Franke said that some of the soldiers demands are justified. So far repairs and renovation in the more that 200-year-old barracks have only been carried out piecemeal. Planned funds for renovation of heating and sanitary installations fell victim this year to cuts in the military budget.

There have also been misunderstandings regarding different interpretations of the law on civilian service. The possibility of transferring to civilian service only exists with regard to work in medical institutions. Three soldiers have also been given notice by their hometown employers, and this disturbs many of the soldiers.

After a talk with the soldiers' representatives, City Commandant Major General Wolfgang Dombrowski said that in the present situation the motivation of Army personnel is very complicated. Money will soon be made available for repairs that the soldiers want to carry out themselves. He has instructed the regiment's commanding officer to review the organization of the regiment's duties so that conscripts can spend more time on family matters. The soldiers are assured of immunity from punishment.

Roundtable as 'Model of Grass-roots Democracy'

AU1403105190 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Mar 90 p 3

[Dr. Tomas Kittan commentary: "Farewell Without Return?"]

[Text] Whether the roundtables have always been round and whether there are 100 or 120 of them is insignificant for historians. What is far more important is that they (still) exist.

Of course, the central roundtable has been the most interesting. Today the representatives of parties and other political associations sit there together in Berlin-Schoenhausen, probably for the last time, to discuss the new constitution, among other things.

Hardly anyone denies that this central roundtable had not only four corners. One can recall the extremely long debates on the agenda and points of order. Sometimes one had the impression that the promotion of images and personal distinction were in the foreground of some people's contribution to the discussion. First, individual parties vigorously insisted on the roundtable's authority, only to dismiss it later as not binding—when it made "unpleasant" decisions.

However, the roundtable has undoubtedly acquired authority. How seriously the government took it after first "fears of getting into contact with it," became clear from the numerous appearances of Hans Modrow and other representatives. And for some people the roundtable even became the stepping stone into the extended government of national responsibility.

But its decisions and initiatives are far more important. Only a few examples: It decisively helped to shape the electoral legislation. It gave support to the government delegation in Bonn. The recently adopted social charter emphatically advocates the preservation of our social security. The dissolution of the State Security service has been energetically pursued and monitored.

After decades of a deficit in democracy, a model of grass-roots democracy, whose experiences might also be relevant after 18 March, has been tested here in Berlin and in many other places in our country.

Gerlach Congratulates Gorbachev on Election

LD1503133390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1232 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Acting GDR State Council Chairman Professor Dr. Manfred Gerlach has conveyed sincere congratulations to Mikhail Gorbachev on his election as USSR president on behalf of the State Council and the GDR people. A state telegram expresses the hope that the friendly relations between the GDR and the USSR, which are characterized by mutual trust and shared responsibility, will continue to develop productively. This would benefit the two countries' peoples and promote the creation of a just and lasting peace in Europe.

Christian Parties Favor North-South Cooperation

AU1303112690 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 9 Mar 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Unification Not at the Expense of the Third World"]

[Text] Berlin—Development aid experts of the parties united in the "Alliance for Germany" and of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] in the Federal Republic and West Berlin have said that German unity must not be achieved at the expense of the Third World.

The energies of East-West confrontation should be channeled into North-South cooperation that should be marked by solidarity. In their joint statement, they advocate an all-German development policy and propose setting up an all-German development aid center in Berlin and transforming the German Development Service into a joint development service.

They appeal to the citizens' readiness to practice charity, even though solidarity gifts in the past were misused by the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], and to continue their support for, and sympathy with, the people in developing countries.

They suggest that for such all-German development aid, funds spent by the FRG for mitigating the effects of the division of Germany, and funds spent by the GDR for deepening the division of Germany could also be used. Part of the two German states' arms expenditures should also be spent on aid for the Third World.

They say in their statement that the relaxation of tensions in East-West relations and the bankruptcy of socialism also offer the developing countries new prospects for the future. However, development aid as help for self-help must be free of any ideological influence.

The development experts hold the view that a unified Germany will be ready to contribute its share to peaceful international development. An all-German commitment in the Third World underlines the Germans' willingness to take their task in the international community seriously.

Interim President Szuros Leaves for Washington

LD1403211590 Budapest MTI in English 1658 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 14 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, left for Washington on Wednesday. At the invitation of the Federation of Hungarian Americans, Mr Szuros is to attend a series of commemorations, including the inauguration of Lajos Kossuth's bust in the Hall of Sculptures in the U.S. Congress on March 15, Thursday.

Horn on Soviet Withdrawal, NATO

AU1403113390 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 14 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Peter Martos; place and date not given: "Hungary Must Never Again Be Dependent"]

[Text] [Martos] Mr. Minister, last weekend, you and your Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze signed the agreement on the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from Hungary. At the final stage of the negotiations, the question was discussed as to when the withdrawal should be concluded. Did Hungary consider 30 June 1991 an appropriate date because on that day the last Soviet soldier will have left the CSSR?

[Horn] No. Originally, we wanted the withdrawal to be concluded by the end of this year. That would have been possible for the troops, because only 50,000 Red Army men are deployed in Hungary, whereas 75,000 are based in the CSSR. However, two and a half times as many arms are stored in Hungary. We will need 2,029 sets of railroad cars [garnituren]—not cars, but sets of cars!—to transport them all to the border where they will be reloaded.

The Red Army suggested the end of August 1991 as a deadline. The Soviet political leadership backed us in this respect: The withdrawal must be concluded on 30 June 1991.

[Martos] There have been numerous contradictory reports about the intentions that the Hungarian Government is pursuing between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. You have been quoted as saying that Hungary should get closer to NATO. What does your concept envisage?

[Horn] Following World War I, Hungary was severely punished. Just think of the Treaty of Trianon which even President Mitterrand recognized as unfair. Following World War II, the Treaty of Paris confirmed Trianon.

In addition, beginning in the second half of the forties, an absolutely strange model was imposed on Hungary—Stalinism. Thereby the country was forced to pursue a course the consequences of which are still straining us now, four decades later.

In the future, Hungary must never again depend on a single superpower. Our security must be based on multilateral support. I am convinced that all of Europe will be democratically restructured. However, this will put an end to the division of Europe into two blocs.

I believe that a collective defense and security system will help bring about convergence of the Warsaw Pact and NATO. In such a defense system, Hungary must also have its place.

[Martos] Could that be in the framework of NATO?

[Horn] Drawing closer to NATO, which was not initiated this year but started as early as in 1987, is an important stage on the path that I outlined earlier. Why should Hungary not become a member of a political organization of NATO—the North Atlantic Assembly, for instance?

I do not rule out neutrality either. In this respect, there is a prerequisite, however. We must have a multilateral security guarantee, as I said earlier. Never has a superpower sided with Hungary in the past—just think of World War II or even 1956.

[Martos] Does that mean that Hungary would leave the Warsaw Pact and become a NATO member only if the security situation in Europe changed?

[Horn] The solution is not to demonstratively leave the Warsaw Pact. That would be bound to cause unnecessarily large tensions with the Soviet Union. I am confident that the Warsaw Pact will advance on the road of change in its member countries. It may then eventually become unnecessary. For the moment, the conditions are not very stable.

[Martos] There are indications that following Ceausescu's fall, not nearly as much has changed in Romania as people originally expected. Does that have a destabilizing effect also on Hungary?

[Horn] In December 1989, I was euphoric, as almost all people were. I really thought that a totally new phase would begin, not only in Romania but also in Romanian-Hungarian relations. Unfortunately, I have been disappointed in many respects. If the process of democratic transition fails in Romania, nationalism will increase. I see increasingly alarming indications in this respect every day. That means that the rights of minorities, including the Hungarian minority, are in jeopardy.

When we agreed with the Romanians on 18 points on 29 December, there was complete harmony. Meanwhile, only a single point has been implemented. My impatience is growing in view of the fact that we are confronted with obstacles everywhere.

[Martos] Calling the Treaties of Trianon and Paris into question is probably not possible. What could Hungary do now for the minority in Transylvania?

[Horn] Calling the territorial integrity and sovereignty of present-day Romania into question would not help us achieve a result. On the contrary—we would only create mistrust.

Two things must be done: First, we will address the open questions virtually every day. Second, the policy of the Romanian leadership and even more of the emerging parties could be much better influenced by civilized Europe. They must see that with their nationalism, they cannot have a place in the European family of nations, because democracy and nationalism are mutually exclusive.

[Martos] On 25 March, democratic elections will be held in Hungary. You are a candidate of the governing Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], which originates from the Communist Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. At the party congress in October, you were among the radical reformers; however, you agreed to a compromise recently. Now the MSZP is reproached time and again for not delimiting itself sufficiently from the dogmatic MSZMP which has re-emerged.

[Horn] With my present experience and knowledge, I would certainly have behaved differently at the party congress in October. It was a mistake that we did not act with the necessary resolve. Compromises were concluded which have proved to be harmful—both politically and in terms of personnel. The point is not delimitation from the old party, but forming a party leadership.

It is another matter that the opposition deliberately blurs the differences between the MSZP on the one hand, and the former and the present MSZMP, on the other. In doing so, they ignore the fact that it was the present leadership of the MSZP which initiated the changes leading to the elections on 25 March and 8 April.

I believe in the MSZP. In Hungary, we need to have a modern leftist party, like in West Europe and in Austria. Without socialism Vranitzky-style, or Gonzalez-, Craxi-, or Mitterrand- style, there can be no political interaction.

[Martos] But such a party does not exist in Hungary.

[Horn] I think the MSZP has embarked on the way to that goal. However, it will not get there straightaway; it has to carry many old burdens.

Gyula Horn on Achievements, Future Plans

AU1403103990 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, by Zsuzsa Szep; place and date not given: "I Also Have Ambitions"]

[Text] The countdown has begun: Elections will take place in 17 days. What will the current ministers do after the expected change of government? We asked the ministers about their plans. Health and Social Affair Minister Judit Csehak did not consent to be interviewed, and it seems she already has an idea—abroad. Industry Ministry Ferenc Horvath did not answer our questions either, and said that the time had not yet come to deal with this subject because there were still many unsolved problems in the Industry Ministry. Despite his promise, Agricultural and Food Processing Industry Minister Csaba Hutter canceled the interview, claiming lack of time.

You will be able to read about the future plans of each minister in our series of interviews. The first interview is with Gyula Horn.

"You finally decided on that memorable day of 10 September 1989. You were alone with your decision, but every European was with you, every German in the FRG and primarily in the GDR, and German unity emerged in gratitude and hope.... By deciding against the division of Europe, you did more than anyone else to overcome the division of Europe. Without your decision, Europe would be different and worse today. Everything that happened after that was a consequence of this decision"—FRG Foreign Minister Genscher said in Mainz when presenting the Tresemann Medal to Gyula Horn.

[Szep] Many people think that you are the only minister who stands a chance of keeping your position no matter which party gets into the government.

[Horn] I do not know whether I will stay or not. The elections will decide that, just as they will decide whether the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] will get into the government or not. In my view, the key issue is not who is the minister but that this small country should win the confidence of the developed world. Do not take it as immodesty, but I feel I have succeeded in this. There are two basic things that nobody questions: First, the new leadership of the old party started the elimination of the party state, accepting by this that the one-party system was not viable. Second, the party prepared this great change by giving up its own power. Those who urged this—the reformer party leaders—also risked their own positions. In this situation, we are talking not only about a change in the regime, but also a change in power.

[Szep] Perhaps yours is the only ministry in which the heir will receive a good heritage. Irrespective of the composition of the future government coalition, would you accept an offer to continue to lead the Foreign Ministry?

[Horn] Naturally, I also have ambitions of my own, and I would like to continue all that I have started. I have been in the Foreign Ministry for 30 years, and after many renewals, I still have concepts in my pocket, because the establishment of a uniform and democratic Europe has just started. Many questions are still awaiting solution. Whether I stay or depart will greatly depend on the election results of the MSZP. I think Hungary also needs a modern left-wing movement which represents the

interests of the majority in Hungary—people living on salaries and wages, workers, creative people—and which opposes any aristocratic privileges. Democracy should not lead to the restoration of privileges.

[Szep] You are running in the elections as a candidate of Somogy County.

[Horn] Despite my genuine Budapest origins, I chose a provincial nomination. Political decisions are made in Budapest, and provincial interests have hardly been represented in these decisions so far. I would like to change that.

[Szep] What if you do not get the deputy mandate?

[Horn] In any case, I would like to be around the Foreign Ministry. It is difficult to change a career when one is 57 years old....

Somogyi Denies Soviet Remarks on Withdrawal Delay

LD1403185890 Budapest MTI in English 1748 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 14 (MTI)—Ferenc Somogyi, under-secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, has denied an allegation by Colonel-General Matvey Burlakov, commander of the Soviet Southern Army Group, which is carried by PRAVDA.

The allegation runs that Soviet troops would have started pulling out of Hungary on Sunday, March 11, but had to postpone the date at the request of the Hungarian side.

Mr Somogyi had the following to say to MTI on the subject:

'This allegation runs absolutely contrary to the facts.

'Representatives of the opposition parties were among those present at the Moscow talks, and they can vouch for the fact that the Hungarian Government did its best to argue in favour of starting the pull-out at the earliest possible date.

'It is regrettable that General Burlakov, who, as commander of the Southern Army Group, will have a major part in completing the withdrawal seems not to have understood—or not to want to understand—the purpose of the talks and the content of the agreement we have signed. [no ending quotation mark—as recieved]

Somogyi went on to say that the March 12 date had been picked by the two sides as the Soviet Union said it was unable to launch the withdrawal on the day after the agreement was signed: In other words, it felt it could not organize the transport of the first train-load of troops back to the Soviet Union at such short notice.

The Hungarian Government's purpose in suggesting this date was to provide some assurance to public opinion. As it is, the withdrawal will only become reality in the public's eyes when the first train leaves for the USSR.

Since it takes time for the necessary preparations to be made, the agreement set March 12 as the date the first train-load will set off,' Somogyi explained.

MDF Leader Urges Accelerated Soviet Pullout

LD1403220990 Budapest MTI in English 2006 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest March 14 (MTI)—According to the position of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF], there is a possibility for accelerating the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. Therefore, after the forming of the new Hungarian Government, the HDF is going to urge taking up of this matter again, Erno Raffay, minister of parliament told newsmen, at the Wednesday press conference of his party.

Concerning the Soviet pullout, the Democratic Forum's position on the issue continues to be that contents of the 1947 Paris peace accord should be extensively taken into account, Mr Raffay said. It became evident at the Moscow discussions that there is no legal ground whatsoever to the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary.

Regarding the Hungarian-Soviet inter-governmental agreement concluded by the Kadar government in 1957, Mr Raffay warned about one of its clauses—still in effect to the present day—under which a Soviet-Hungarian military joint committee is in operation until the full withdrawal is completed. With a view also to this clause, it would be advisable to speed up the deadline of the pullout, Mr Raffay continued.

According to the position of the defense committee of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, accelerating the pullout is resolvable also technically.

Karpati Plans 35 Percent Cut in Armed Forces

LD1403145190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0037 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There is no necessity for Hungary to maintain large military forces. It can manage with a much smaller army than hitherto, Hungarian Defense Minister Colonel General Ferenc Karpati (rtd.) [as received] said today in an exclusive interview for the Liberal Democrat MORGEN.

He pointed out that his country has no serious problems with either its neighbors or with other people. "Therefore we intend to make reductions of around 35 percent by 1992. Further steps in this direction are possible if the Vienna negotiations lead to results. We also want to spend far less for military purposes. Tanks, artillery, and missile units must be reduced, and offensive weapons in general must be banned. In the long term a new defense concept will be elaborated."

Asked if Hungary would use Austria as a model, the defense minister pointed to the specific factors of the neighboring country, which has obligations under the state treaty only to develop certain military activities. Moreover, Austria is today spending more money on defense than Hungary, espcially on military personnel. The situation is thus not comparable.

As far as the military situation in Europe is concerned, Karpati said that in his view a hopeful development has begun only in the past two years. Throughout history there was never such an accumulation of military potential in Europe as in the postwar period. The prolonged confrontation has been terrifying for the continent. "We recognize that it is not arming that guarantees stability in Europe and that this can only be achieved through negotiations and the development of a new security policy." Gorbachev's policy has lent great dynamism to this process, so that today one can believe that there will not be a new world war.

German unification is coming about, Karpati said. This is primarily the responsibility of the Germans, but the people of Europe are also affected. "It cannot be a matter of indifference to them what sort of guarantees they receive, and what this Germany will be like. There are, of course, promises that war will never again emanate from German soil, but in fact the Federal Republic has a large military force in NATO, and therefore there must be a decision as to whether a united Germany can remain in NATO. The decisive factor must be that European security remains guaranteed."

Nemeth Meets With PRC Agriculture Minister

LD1403133390 Budapest MTI in English 1121 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 13 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, met He Kang, Chinese minister of agriculture, in the Parliament building, Budapest, on Tuesday.

Mr He is head of the Chinese delegation to the 5th session of the joint Hungarian-Chinese committee on economic, trade, technical and scientific cooperation.

The two politicians held discussions about economic conditions in their countries, and raised ideas on how to expand mutually advantageous business links.

Present at the meeting was Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister and committee co-chairman.

Thai Foreign Minister Arrives on Official Visit

LD1403162890 Budapest MTI in English 1456 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 13 (MTI)—Sitthi Sawetsila, foreign minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, arrived on an official visit to Hungary on Tuesday afternoon at the invitation of Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs.

Begins Talks With Horn

LD1403163290 Budapest MTI in English 1540 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 13 (MTI)—Sitthi Sawetsila, foreign minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, started his talks with his Hungarian counterpart Gyula Horn in the Foreign Ministry in Budapest on Tuesday afternoon.

Meets With Szuros, Fodor

LD1503034390 Budapest MTI in English 2304 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 14 (MTI)—Heading a delegation to Hungary, Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand, Sitthi Sawetsila, met for discussions with leading Hungarian politicians on Wednesday.

Mr Sawetsila was received on Wednesday morning by Hungarian interim President of the Republic, Matyas Szuros. During their exchange Mr Sawetsila said the approach between Hungary and Thailand is taking place at a favourable time. In conjunction with the emergence of Hungarian market economy, Mr Savetsila also took to opportunity to convey the greetings of His Majesty King Phumiphon Adunyadet to Mr Szuros.

During the meeting with Istvan Fodor, acting speaker of the Hungarian Parliament, a briefing was given to the Thai delegation on the activity of Parliament.

Other talks by Mr Sawetsila included Tamas Beck, minister of trade, during which the Hungarian-Thai cooperation within the Cairns group was termed to be good by the sides.

"Thailand follows with keen interest the process of democratization and liberalisation commenced in Hungary and other Central European countries," Mr Sawetsila said in summing up his visit at a press conference.

It became evident at the discussions that both sides intend to streghten their political and economic ties. Mr Sawetsila continued by announcing that in the coming month a Thai delegation is due to visit Hungary, led by the deputy prime minister.

The Thai side made a promise to speed up preparations for signing a bilateral agreement on the protection of investments. It was also reported at the conference that a trade consul bureau is to be established in Hungary by Thailand. In addition Bangkok decided to introduce measures to ease individual travelling, thus a Thai tourist - or transit visa can be obtained by Hungarians within 24-48 hours.

Antall, Austria's Mock Brief Press on Ties

LD1503034890 Budapest MTI in English 2321 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 14 (MTI)—Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock, also president of the European Democratic Union (EDU) held a press conference in conjunction with the president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, Jozsef Antall, regarding relations between the two organisations.

"It is the primary purpose of the Hungarian Democratic Forum to support also through institutional means the catching up of Hungary with the rest of Europe," Mr Antall said.

Therefore, plans of the party include that Hungary should establish institutional relations with the Council of Europe, the European Economic Community and the EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. It is highly important in Mr Antall's view that in the emerging unified EC, a federation should be formed by various parties of the multi-party democracies, and for them to assume an important political role.

"The country's neutrality is the only acceptable long-term foreign affairs goal for Hungary," Mr Antall emphasized.

Mr Mock, as president of the EDU, gave details about the organisation formed in 1978, as a federation of primarily European Conservative, Christian Democratic and Liberal Democratic Parties.

The press conference also enlarged on the envisaged 1995 Budapest-Vienna World Expo and the problem of the abandoned water barrage project.

Regarding possible indemnification claims by Austrian companies, Mr Mock said related negotiations are under way—with the involvement of experts—but Austria fully respects the decision on the matter by the Hungarian Parliament.

Speaking about the world expo, it was established by the politicians that the event should contribute to the development of economy and primarily tourism, not only in the capitals of the two countries but in the countryside as well.

Ministers Meet With CSSR's Pithart

LD1503035890 Budapest MTI in English 1623 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 14 (MTI)—Minister of State Imre Pozsgay met in his office on Wednesday morning with Petr Pithart, prime minister of the Czech Republic, who is in Hungary on an official visit.

During his first official visit abroad since he has taken up office, Mr Pithart began with a short summary of the experience of his talks so far.

Referring to his intensive talks with Hungarian state leaders yesterday, he said they focussed on two recurring subjects, the situation of nationalities and the fate of the Gabcikovo barrage. The importance and timeliness of these two issues is also proved by the fact that they were in the focus again during the meetings with opposition political parties, such as the Federation of Young Democrats, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary and the Alliance of Free Democrats.

Mr Pithart's meetings on Tuesday with Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic, Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister, and Zoltan Gal, secretary of state at the Ministry of the Interior, all proved his keen interest in the experience Hungary has gained in the process of democratic transformation.

On Wednesday, Mr Pozsgay briefed Mr Pithart on the latest developments in Hungary's home affairs.

Mr Pozsgay pointed out that the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP—MSZP] had prepared itself for going into opposition after the free elections. He said the HSP shared the position of the modern West European Socialist and Social Democratic Parties that the conflict between labour and capital was not irreconcilable. For this reason, the HSP would not make a class-oriented approach to the modernization of Hungary even if it became an opposition party.

Mr Pithart spoke in terms of appreciation about the fact that the Hungarian Socialists were the first to revaluate in public the event that had taken place in Czechoslovakia 22 years ago. He expressed the hope that the HSP and the Hungarian Government would continue cooperating with the Czechoslovak historians in exploring the historical facts related to the crushing of the Prague Spring.

Romania Warned Against Trouble on 15 Mar

LD1403190490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] It is alleged that there are preparations for provocations and disturbances in several Magyar-inhabited settlements in Romania during the 15 March celebrations. For this reason Deputy Foreign Minister Imre Szokai has told Traian Pop, Romania's ambassador in Budapest, that our country expects the Romanian side to do all it can to ensure that the commemorations are not disrupted. The Hungarian diplomat drew attention to the fact that any kind of undesirable incident could cause a serious disturbance in the two countries' relations.

Romanian Movement Voices 'Anti-Magyar Sentiment'

LD1403141990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2115 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Report on rally held by the Vatra Romaneasca movement in Alba Iulia on 4 March—participants speak in Romanian with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Alajos Churdinak] Ceausescu has died, but his mentality, his primitive nationalism, his sick anti-Magyar sentiment, the hatred of Magyar intellect and language in Romania appears to live on in the consciousness of some people. They do not need Ceausescu and his clan any more, but they demand the fulfillment of the homogenous, unified Romanian nation which he proclaimed, if necessary with force and by annihilating the Magyar nationality and culture. This is what they put on their banners now. These extreme right-wing forces make use of fascist and racist expressions. They incite hatred of the Magyars, even among those Romanians who deserve better and who wish for reconciliation. [chanting in background]

These anti-Magyar forces are now gathering around the Vatra Romaneasca movement—which means Romanian hearth—which entered the arena a few weeks after the revolution. One country, one language; we are the people, you are the garbage—this is what the movement's supporters shout. For example, at their meeting in Reghin, which had a lynching atmosphere, several hundred nationalists shouted: We want to drink Magyar blood. The exact same thing was proclaimed and done by the bloody-handed Iron Guards in Romania, and by the genocidal (Maniu) guards. Here is an on-the-spot report on the rally held by the Vatra Romaneasca movement in Alba Iulia on 4 March.

[Dumitru Pop] Our association undertakes to safeguard the territorial unity of Romania. We unequivocally take it as our point of departure that Transylvania is ancestral Romanian land. We demand that the Romanian language be recognized and that in every sphere of life this should be the sole, the official state language. [applause, followed by chanting]

[Zeno Opris] The clamor, the aggressiveness, and unjustified haste of the Magyar minority generates fear among the Romanians; it toughens them, it tears open old wounds, and all this hits back, like a boomerang. He who plants an acorn gets a tree. [further chanting]

[Radu Ciortea] A great many people in this country, primarily those in Bucharest, consider us to be extremist elements or, as they say, green Romanians [as heard]. We founded Vatra Romaneasca, not so that it should be directed against someone, but so that we should curb the extremist demands of the Magyar minority. The extremist representatives of the Magyar national minority, including some who are noted cultural and nationally recognized figures, are known even beyond the borders. Indeed I could say that it is primarily beyond the borders that they are renowned. Therefore, some of them had made attempts, and were waiting for the revolutionary turnabout. This was a favorable moment for the political battle, and the Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania [Romaniai Magyarok Demokratikus Egyesuelete] came up with an idea on 26 December. It reversed that signboard of the headquarters of the council of Magyar nationality workers, it wrote something else on it, and it appeared on the square with a ready-made program, with basic statutes; everything was prearranged. Under the pretext of individual and collective human rights, these lords are coming forth with a demand for territorial automony. The lords up to now have not yet said so clearly; but properly speaking, what they are trying, as an ethnic group, is to create a federated state within Romania. How could we justify to the world our obligating certain people, those who have completed secondary school, to suffer linguistic harm in their own country, in the country where the country's language remains Romanian, and how will they regard us if this law is applied in the future? How will children be taught the Romanian state language from the first year in primary school until the 12th year?

[Reporter] Speak about the future plans of Vatra Romaneasca.

[Radu Ciortea] We have no doubts regarding our future. However, I ask the government, I ask the political parties and all the well-intentioned forces in Romania to please wait for the laws which will be elaborated by the legislature and future, legal parliament. Nothing should be accepted on behalf of anyone who tries, by force, from outside the country's territory or from outside government, to acquire rashly and illegally certain rights for the Magyar minority, which is acting egotistically and independently of the fact that it is not the sole minority in Romania. The making of exceptions which took place at the time of Petru Groza, Romania's sad figure, was a serious mistake. It was and would be a mistake to return to the time of Magyar autonomy, in the territory of Romania, but if this mistake occurs again, we shall eliminate it from the country.

[Alajos Churdinak] At the Cluj conference, with limited attendance, which was held by the Vatra Romaneasca movement, the following accusations were voiced.

[Zeno Opris] We consider the Romanian Government's political shortsightedness, that it accepted the proposal that one of the three deputy ministers of culture should be Magyar, just as it did in educational affairs, to be very serious, even if this government is an interim one. Does this mean that the Magyars might amount to 33 percent of the Romanian population? If a wolf is let into a sheep's pen, to be sure it will not be to the benefit of the 22 million lambs whose future is at stake. [sound of applause]

In our view the careless statement made by Francois Mitterrand, president of the Republic of France, that

Hungary supposedly sustained territorial losses after the two world wars, faithfully reflects the disputes which the Magyar side incited by emphasizing territorial demands. And all this strongly left its mark on the visit here by the French president. What upsets us is not that the French president was indiscreet, or that he said something he shouldn't have, but we are upset, indeed, angered, by the fact that Hungary is conducting dark machinations against its neighbors. It is even disregarding the international agreements; friendship and good-neighborliness means nothing to it. My final conclusion is that the question of how many can be given of the rights they demand depends on the readiness of the Magyar minority for sincere, loyal, and genuinely democratic cooperation, and we make this dependent on their loyalty to our joint interests. [applause in background] Thank you.

[Churdinak] Of course their slanders and accusations against the Magyars are groundless. They are blatant lies. What do the Magyars in Romania want? Nothing other than the individual and collective rights which the Helsinki agreement compulsorily guarantees, and which are ensured for the nationalities in every democratic state of the world.

[Doru Popescu] What do you think, whom do the people here represent? I would say, very briefly: Today Alba Iulia, tomorrow the entire country. [sound of chanting] You see what the crowd is chanting: Romanian language, Romanian language. We were, we are, and we shall be, because we use our ancestral language, and there will be one sole language and one sole nation in the entire country. Those who now arouse tension are identical with those who would have liked to rule Transylvania and all of Romania. But you can be sure that the Romanians will never resign themselves to this.

[Reporter] What are you rejecting now?

[Doru Popescu] What we are rejecting now is cooperation with the Magyars, who have attested to so much, so much mental wickedness. And to what can it be attributed, if it is not a lack of knowledge concerning propriety, if it is not the most elemental provocation against democracy, that they demand a legal recognition and legalization of one of the brutal historical falsifications of the initial period of communist rule in Romania, Magyar autonomy? In this cacaphony of voices, a separate chord is represented by the allegation of the pastor who has gone so astray, Mr Laszlo Tokes. [shouting and chanting] How does Pastor Tokes dare to say that the Romanian language is a tool for oppressing the minorities? [loud chanting]

[Unidentified speaker] We most resolutely condemn the conduct of Pastor Laszlo Tokes, who turned from a priest into a politician. [jeers in the background, followed by chanting]

Translyvanians' Stress on Minority Rights Cited

LD1403201190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Even the postrevolution Romanian Government has not guaranteed the nationality rights of the Magyars. For this reason those living in Transylvania must fight to regain the middle schools and the university, to see that a nationality ministry is set up and, finally, that a law guaranteeing the rights of all the minorities is enacted. This was laid down on behalf of the Magyar national minority of Translyvania by Janos Fazekas, who was for a long time Ceausescu's deputy premier, removed from leadership in 1982 precisely because of his professed views on nationality issues.

Janos Fazekas, who is staying in our country at the Hungarian Socialist Party's invitation as a guest of Rezsoe Nyers, urged that a nationality congress be convened in Europe as soon as possible. He has also sent this proposal to the UN secretary general, he stated at his press briefing. He added that he had also indicated Hungary as a venue for the assembly.

It would also be a mistake to think that in the era of the political hooligan Ceausescu there was no Magyar opposition organization in Romania, recalled the old politician. As he said, he had himself founded the Translyvanian Democratic Federation in the snowy mountains of Hargita. This is needed also today, for there are many people who want to drink Hungarian blood, said Janos Fazekas, quoting one of the slogans heard recently in Alba Iulia and Tirgu Mures, which has been described as fascist.

Also for this reason, there is a need to convene a nationality congress, and there would be a need for a radio and television station, to be set up with American, British, and Japanese help, for those living in Translyvania. This would also help the struggle for the restoration of the right of national self-determination, he said. He stressed: One must not confuse civic rights with nationality rights. This had been said already by Mihaly Vitez, former Translyvanian politician, although he was neither a socialist nor a communist, merely a thinking politician.

Petrasovits Interviewed on SZDP's Program

AU1403120490 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Mar 90 p 7

[Interview with Anna Petrasovits, chairman of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, by Laszlo Karcagi; date and place not given: "There Is No Thatcherism Here!"]

[Excerpts] [Karcagi] According to the latest opinion polls, the Hungarian Social Democratic Party [SZDP] is somewhere in the middle among the political parties in Hungary; if the elections were held today, the SZDP could count on 4.5 percent of the votes. According to the SZDP leaders, the party would have a greater number of followers if the press did not treat the SZDP so badly. Our first question to Anna Petrasovits deals with this: What do you think is the reason for this so frequently

claimed discrimination? Do you suspect some kind of political maneuvering in the background?

[Petrasovits] Yes. The emergence and consolidation of the SZDP represented the most uncomfortable challenge the governing party has had. Therefore, the leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] tried to silence us and present us as a weak and insignificant party both at home and abroad.

[Karcagi] Do you mean by this that the domestic mass media continues to be governed by the MSZP?

[Petrasovits] It is not in the interest of the opposition organizations to have the Hungarian public get a precise picture of the SZDP either.

[Karcagi] Perhaps the popularity of the SZDP would increase if it described itself more clearly, and if you made the differences in your program more clear. The goals, programs, and slogans in the Hungarian political arena are too similar.

[Petrasovits] People try to put us in all kinds of pigeonholes. For instance, the communists try to present us as liberal Christian democrats. However, we claim that we are a workers party in the European sense of the word. This means that we reject the dictatorship of the proletariat and all monopoly on power. We want a bourgeois democracy. We do not support the rule of any political elite in Hungary. We say that capital and work together create national income. We call for peace among classes, and we propose the use of traditional social democratic frameworks to deal with the conflicts between capital and work. [passage omitted]

In our view, the MSZP is a reform communist party. The most essential difference between us and the MSZP is that we regard bourgeois democratic restructuring as the most important task. We do not want to direct this process from above, but we encourage changes from below. [passage omitted]

[Karcagi] We mostly talked about what makes you different from other parties. I would ask you now what parties are closest to you?

[Petrasovits] We have had balanced relations with the Free Democrats so far. We have had conflicts on two subjects. One, so-called spontaneous privatization; two, the evaluation of relations with the trade unions. [passage omitted]

[Karcagi] In fact, you want to carry out a Thatcherite change with leftist slogans. For example, how will you be able to explain to a worker who has lost his job in the wake of privatization and restructuring that all this is happening for his own good?

[Petrasovits] There is no Thatcherite economic policy here! Privatization does not bring only negative effects to the workers, and we will see the positive aspects of this privatization during the prosperity that will come after the economic motor starts working. Increasingly fewer people are afraid of the specter of "exploitation," because, so far, the state itself has been their greatest exploiter. [passage omitted]

[Karcagi] According to the latest opinion polls, if elections were held today, your party would receive 4.5 percent of the votes. Do you not think that this is too small a percentage, given the fact that the number of voters for the social democratic parties in most European countries is several times as large?

[Petrasovits] The opinion polls also show that 37 percent of the people surveyed sympathize with social democracy in Hungary today. This means that, once the party is really allowed to come forward to the public and once the people realize that our party is the only authentic social democratic force in this country, our popularity will increase considerably.

[Karcagi] Given your party program, the MSZP could be your closest ally. However, you behave like inveterate enemies.

[Petrasovits] The communication trouble between the two parties is the result of the resolutely hostile policy of the MSZP. Our party members say that these communists, who are now calling themselves reform communists and socialists, have been compromised. The time has come for other political forces of our nation to try to see how they can make use of the power given to them by their followers and voters.

In the course of our history, we were forced into a so-called unity twice, and each time this led to the elimination of social democracy in Hungary.

IMF Approves $206 Million Stand-by Loan

LD1403194990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] The Board of Directors of the IMF today approved the $206 million stand-by loan to be granted to Hungary.

Court Annuls Tax on State Loans for Housing

LD1403204990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Summary] In Esztergom, the Constitutional Court today ruled that the law on the payment of tax on state loans for housing construction and the related government decrees is unconstitutional, and is herewith annulled in their entirety.

The state secretaries of the Finance Ministry and the National Planning Office did not wait to hear the court's justification. While Judge Laszlo Solyom was still speaking, they left the chamber. Judge Solyom pointed out that such regulations concerning basic civic rights can only be determined by laws of constitutional force, and therefore the recent adoption of the bill by parliament is invalid.

Interior Ministry Officers Dismissed on Request

LD1403221690 Warsaw PAP in English
2104 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—The following persons were dismissed from service by the interior minister at their own request, the Interior Ministry's press spokesman says:

—Head of the voivodship internal affairs office in Szczecin General Jaroslaw Wernikowski.
—Deputy head of the voivodship internal affairs office for security services in Lodz Colonel Jan Jasinski.
—Head of the voivodship internal affairs office in Lomza Colonel Waldemar Maciejczuk.
—Head of the voivodship internal affairs office in Konin Colonel Zenon Jakubowski.
—Head of the voivodship internal affairs office in Gorzow Wielkopolski Colonel Withold Jaroma.
—Deputy head of the voivodship internal affairs office for security services in Jelenia Gora Colonel Wladyslaw Ziolo.

Walesa Raises Concerns at 8 Mar News Conference

AU1303130890 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish
9 Mar 90 p 3

['(zw)'-signed report: "What Is Walesa Afraid Of?"]

[Text] "I am afraid of chaos, anarchy, and the kind of mess that will permit some general to take advantage of the situation and put an end to freedom," said "Solidarity" chairman Lech Walesa at a news conference, at the House of Culture for Ship Workers in Gdynia, on 8 March. The news conference was attended by a multitude of docker workers. "We cannot demolish by means of thoughtless activity what we have built with such toil," he continued. "Enough blood has been spilled in this country. I ask you to undertake intelligent activity of all kinds—political, social, and especially economic. Now the entire nation can take any issue it likes into its own hands."

However, a little later, in reply to questions from the floor, Walesa spoke with excessive bitterness about the parliamentary debate. He said that personally, he does not think much of factory self-management. He regretted the younger generation's reluctance to act within "Solidarity," among other places, and assume responsibility for the changes in the country. "For the time is coming," he said, "when we will be able to tell the government: You can continue on your own. This will be after the 'Solidarity' congress. The government is supposed to solve problems. If it is incapable of doing so, it has to be changed. The union will deal with the problems that disturb its members." He repeated that he is opposed to any political monopoly, including one by "Solidarity." That is why he is opposed to the idea of various kinds of parties and political organizations hiding behind the "Solidarity" banner. That is also the reason why, at his Gdynia news conference, he spoke out in favor of a free contest of forces in the forthcoming local government elections, so that public opinion does not become biased in any particular direction. "In this country, every single force, from the Christians, via the socialists, right down to minority groups, including the communists, must compete for a favorable future," he concluded.

Walesa Expresses Fears Over Public Safety

LD1403191390 Warsaw PAP in English
1705 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Gdansk, March 14—Lech Walesa met with head of the Voivodship Office for Internal Affairs in Gdansk Col. Janusz Wydra today.

Walesa voiced concern over the state of public safety in Poland, particularly in the tri-city of Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot.

The interlocutors pointed to the necessity to mobilize society and to start up organizational reserves inherent in the militia and the Army to fight crime, says a communique conveyed to PAP by the press office of the Solidarnosc chairman.

Spokeswoman Niezabitowska on Current Issues

LD1403203890 Warsaw PAP in English
1817 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 14—Today's press conference held by Government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska was also attended by Vice Minister of Finance Marek Dabrowski. Following is what they told newsmen today:

Visit of the Premier to the U.S., Canada

Niezabitowska announced that Tadeusz Mazowiecki leaves for the United States on March 20 and next on March 27 to Canada. The program of the visit envisages meetings with President Bush, Vice President Quayle, high-ranking officials of the U.S. Administration, members of the U.S. Congress, representatives of American business and Polish Americans as well as leaders of Jewish organizations.

One can expect that the premier's talk in the U.S. will have a very broad scope. He will brief the American side on the situation in Poland and the changes taking place in Central and East Europe.

He will also discuss the issue of German unification and touch upon bilateral matters, both political and economic. One of the subjects which he will want to tackle will be a liberalization of the issuance of American visas to Polish citizens. At present about 60 percent of applications are turned down.

Implementation of Government Economic Program:

Five months have elapsed since the announcement of the program, stated Dabrowski, going on to say: As concerns institutional changes, the balance of the government's

economic activities does not look bad. A few customs law has been put into effect and tax laws have been significantly altered. Bills on personal income tax and on added value tax will appear soon.

Work is under way on a new budget law and new principles of financing local self-government. The government attaches much attention to countering monopolistic practices.

The last two months of the program's application are chiefly struggle against inflation. Everything seems to indicate that price growth in February will reach at most several percent. Six-percent inflation is envisaged for March.

Poland and Lithuania's Independence:

Like most states in the world Poland takes a kind, though anticipative, stance towards the proclamation of independence by Lithuania. This anticipation is associated with the matter of a settlement of relations between the USSR and Lithuania. We expect that the negotiations with the USSR will lead to agreement on a stand in line with Lithuania's aspirations, the spokeswomen said.

Poland and German Unification:

It seems that Poland's participation in the "four plus two" talks is decided, the spokeswoman stated, adding: A majority of the participants in the conference: the USSR, France, Great Britain, the GDR and recently the FRG—following the statement of minister Genscher—express consent to our participation in the part of the talks pertaining to Poland, and especially our western border.

Premier Mazowiecki will try to convince the United States to adopt a similar stand during his visit to the U.S. The issue of German unification will be touched upon during Saturday's meeting of the foreign affairs ministers of states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty. We expect that this forum will also back our demands.

Future of Subsidies:

Dabrowski termed as absolutely untrue rumors that prices of energy and transportation would rise steeply as of April 1.

In general, the intention of the government is for the process of introducing real prices to take place as quickly as possible. Departing from state-set prices for gas, coal and energy as well as railway transportation cannot however additionally fuel inflation in the coming months. This operation must therefore be divided into stages most probably over a period of two to three years.

Soviet Troops in Poland:

Referring to this topic, Niezabitowska said: In line with the decisions of the National Defense Committee, talks will be started on the status of Soviet military units stationed in Poland.

They will concern two aspects: the burdens caused by some units, particularly the airforce, for local residents, and the terms of stationing the Soviet troops and the dues paid by them.

These talks—on the level of government plenipotentiaries and attended by representatives of the foreign and finance ministries—will begin soon. Moreover, Poland is preparing its own proposal for the Vienna negotiations relating to the lumpsum withdrawal of Soviet troops in the context of a new system of European security.

Forecasts for Revival of Output:

The vice minister of finance announced that the government did not envisage any special mechanisms consisting in softening financial policy to revive demand as this would pose a threat of a reemergence of a wave of inflation. Ahead of us is a long-term, painstaking process. One should not expect any production boom this year, the finance official said.

Employment in State Administration:

The government spokeswoman stated that in its cadre policy, the government is being guided by rationalization and savings. The number of managerial posts in the administration has not increased since 1987 and totals 186. An average five to seven people hold managerial posts in respective ministries. One can expect changes in the administration following elections to local self-governments.

Rights of German Minority in Poland:

Niezabotowska stated that Poland highly evaluated the implementation of the statement adopted in this respect during Chancellor Kohl's visit to Poland.

Three social-cultural societies of the German minority in Poland have been registered recently: in Gogolin, Czestochowa and Katowice. Another one in Gdansk will be registered soon. A lack of a sufficient number of German-language teachers is an obstacle, the spokeswoman said.

Trade, Debt With Soviet Union Reviewed

AU1303195590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Dariusz Ledworowski, under secretary of state at the Foreign Economic Cooperation Ministry, by Joanna Strzelczyk; place and date not given: "Poland and USSR—What Is Profitable?"]

[Text] [Strzelczyk] You were a member of the Polish delegation that went to Moscow and discussed the agreement for Polish-Soviet supplies and deliveries for 1990. Why has this agreement not been signed?

[Ledworowski] The five year plan for 1986-1991 postulated striking a balance between exports and imports. In the first two years we exported less than we imported. In

1988-1989, the excess of our exports over our imports exceeded the quotas that were fixed in the annual agreements.

In the current year, and in order to fulfill the conditions of the five year plan, Poland has only to secure a positive balance of its exports over its imports somewhere in the region of 200 billion transferable rubles. Nevertheless, apart from the financial settlements envisaged, the agreements also say something about the quantities and the kind of supplies that are required. The Russians maintain that with such a small surplus in the balance of payments, we shall be unable to achieve supply targets for certain products, especially machines and other equipment.

[Strzelczyk] Why are there these differences?

[Ledworowski] They have mainly arisen because of the price movements in the last five years. CEMA used to apply a system of progressive prices that were adjusted every year on the basis of the prevailing world prices for the last five years, preceding the year in question. For the first time in the last ten years, the adjustments in this five year plan have been advantageous to Poland. For example, the current oil price is lower than the world price, as a result of the fact that at the beginning of the 1980's, world prices for oil were cheaper than they are now. When deliveries were being planned; nobody could have foreseen this would happen.

Today, the true value of the financial settlements differs appreciably from the value of the quantity of goods. We believe that the financial settlements are more important, whereas the Russians place emphasis on the performance of material quotas.

[Strzelczyk] How large are these divergences?

[Ledworowski] From our calculations it would appear that in order to achieve a R200 billion surplus, Poland has to export machinery amounting to R1.6 billion. With the current deliveries of raw materials, market goods, and semi-finished products, the Russians are demanding machinery worth R2.8 billion. Our industry is quite capable of supplying machinery worth over R3.4 billion, a figure that would exceed even last year's delivery levels.

[Strzelczyk] This is a great difference. Will the drastic limitation of exports have a detrimental effect on our production?

[Ledworowski] This will mean that those factories that only export to the Soviet Union and that have no prospects of restructuring, will collapse. This is one of the fundamental problems of our economic policy for this year.

The Industry Ministry has to make its calculations of profitability on the basis of the new reality. We want to grant export privileges to those enterprises that show promise for the future and will generate hard currency earnings. In other enterprises we have to begin winding down production, even today, without waiting for 1 January 1991 and the introduction of new price structures and exchange rates.

The selection of those machines that we can supply must reflect our policy, which seeks to eliminate our current trade surplus and the decreasing level of orders from Moscow. We have to consider whether the particular enterprise has any chance of surviving in the USSR market, and whether it will also be competitive in other markets.

[Strzelczyk] The Russians are demanding our machines. Our enterprises want to produce them. Why does the Polish government stand in the way? Is this particular branch of our exports unprofitable?

[Ledworowski] The surplus over the agreed balance is a strategic problem for us for two reasons. First, if we achieve a balance of trade surplus with the Soviet Union within the provisions of the current five year plan, then in reality we are in fact beginning to repay our debt to the USSR. The repayment has been moved back to a period after 1991, and premier Mazowiecki during his visit to Moscow asked for repayments to be moved back beyond 1995.

We have to treat our creditors in the East and West with equal fairness. We cannot permit a situation where we are asking the West for a delay and then start repaying our debt in the East.

Second, if we increase turnover with the USSR, this will imply changes in this year's budget and in our financial calculations. The budget has already been accepted by the Sejm.

[Strzelczyk] Is it not a paradox that this year the Russians are demanding more machinery from us, yet for the next year they do not require any?

[Ledworowski] In the current year, the Russians are still referring to the existing five year plan. It is not true to say that as from next year they will not want any of our machines. They want them, but they do not want to pay for them with raw materials, only with their own machinery. This will pose a problem for us, because Polish industry, for example our electronic and technical industry, was developed to satisfy the needs of the USSR market, and it was expanded in order to secure Soviet raw materials. We cannot change this structure overnight.

[Strzelczyk] Is the end of the negotiations in sight?

[Ledworowski] I am an optimist. We have agreed that in May Deputy Premier and Joint Chairman of the Polish-Soviet Economic Commission Sitaryan, and Foreign Trade Minister Katushev, will both visit Poland. We shall put forward our suggestions and we trust that the final agreement will then be reached.

[Strzelczyk] Is there anything else to discuss, apart from the agreement on deliveries?

[Ledworowski] We shall also be discussing the subject of Polish indebtedness to the USSR—this stands at R4.5 billion—as well as transferring to a hard currency payment system.

[Strzelczyk] This will mean losses for Poland. Will we be compensated for these?

[Ledworowski] We think this effect should somehow be "absorbed" by apportioning the costs of this changeover equally onto both sides. This accords with the agreements struck in Sofia. We want to change over to a hard currency system as quickly as possible, but if the Russians do not agree to any "absorption" then we shall have to seek other solutions that might reduce the costs.

[Strzelczyk] Transferring to a hard currency payment system is linked to the problem of indebtedness. How will this be calculated?

[Ledworowski] This debt resulted from unfavorable price relations prevailing at the end of the 1970's and the early years of the 1980's. The improvement of the situation in the last few years has not had any fundamental effect on the overall size of this debt. To recalculate this debt into hard currency, by linking it to some exchange rate, is not acceptable to us. We have to reach agreement on this point.

[Strzelczyk] Thank you for the interview.

Daily Views U.S. Relations With East Europe

AU1403162190 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 12 Mar 90 p 2

[Waldemar Kedal article: "How Close Is Manhattan"]

[Text] When Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel spoke at a joint session of the two houses of the U.S. Congress, his speech was interrupted by applause 24 times, providing a total of 11 minutes of applause. However, Lech Walesa's speech at the same forum last autumn was interrupted 25 times, with 15 minutes of applause.

That is how the United States is reacting to the momentous news from Central and East Europe. In fact, the United States is doing more than just according energetic, even theatrical, recognition of East European emissaries. In recent times we have been having one visit after another by financiers, managers, and businessmen from across the ocean in order to convert this recognition into hard currency, and establish investment and scientific projects for the benefit of our economy.

In Poland one can almost see Wall Street and the skyscrapers of Manhattan. the United States is closer today. Is it close enough for us to say that all the gaps separating the United States from this part of the Old World have been bridged?

The width of these gaps until now is best illustrated by the opinions of an American expert. Dr. Allen Lynch, deputy director of the New York Institute for the Research of East-West Security Problems, says that from a historical angle, the United States' links with the countries of the region that is today known as "East Europe" have either been episodic, or inconsistent and ambiguous. Geopolitics, which always determines U.S. interests, has meant that since World War II, all the United States' actions vis-a-vis East Europe have been strictly subordinated to policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, and have been the product of this policy. In relation to this major objective, East European affairs were granted secondary status by U.S. politicians, and receded into the background. A limited interest in politics went hand-in-hand with a weakness of practical instruments of action, for example economic instruments. In 1983, trade with East Europe constituted only about 0.6 percent of total U.S. trade, not much more than the 0.4 percent of the total trade of "exotic" Japan devoted to this region.

However enthusiastic the declarations of U.S. politicians about Central and East Europe are today, the revolutionary breakthrough in this region is so recent that there has not been enough time to make good all the neglect in mutual relations. Nevertheless, does Washington's practical activities fully suit the requirements of the day? Even though the Bush administration has already reached a series of commendable financial and economic decisions, many U.S. politicians feel dissatisfied. They are accusing White House decisionmakers of exercising excessive caution via-a-vis the countries of Central Europe, or even lacking any strategy toward them.

Last December, President Bush appointed a special team to deal with economic aid for Poland and other countries in this region. The chairman of the team is Lawrence Eagleburger, assistant secretary of state, who visited Warsaw recently. Nevertheless, Zbigniew Brzezinski, former adviser to the U.S. President, believes that this is too little, because what is needed is someone who would devote all his time to Central Europe. "The challenge we are facing," says Brzezinski, "is as great as the one we faced in the 1940's and beginning of the 1950's."

Fortunately, words like these no longer give rise to unhealthy emotions in our part of the world, and do not cause waves of condemnation. The development of comprehensive relations with the United States can only bring advantages. What is more, in today's world, which is abandoning its ideological phobias and military bloc patterns, such a development cannot be viewed as a threat to our international alliance, and especially not as a threat to our links with the USSR. Having said that, one ought to immediately dispense with the myth about a rapid, automatic "East European-U.S. marriage," for contrary to various U.S. doctrines of "restraint," "rejection," or "liberation" of Central Europe, which frequently served as pretexts for this part of Europe to mobilize itself in the face of the "imperialist threat," the United States' real desire and capability of exerting major influence on this part of the world has been negligible. The point is that a lot of this impotence still

remains, and, what is worse, this impotence is present in the spheres of economics, trade, and technology transfer.

Finally, in our perception of the United States today, we have to consider the United States's own reconsideration of its role as a world power. Politicians across the ocean, tasting the new virtue called humility, are saying that the concept of "superpower" is being consigned to the trash heap. This applies to the Soviet Union, which is entangled in internal difficulties, and equally to the United States, which by necessity is discovering the charms of "multilateralism," i.e. an increasing dependence on cooperation with other countries.

An example? In the United States one hears of the need for a new Marshall Plan which would cover the countries of Central and East Europe this time. However, the truth is that the United States on its own cannot afford to implement this idea. In present terms, the cost of the 1948 Marshall Plan was $70 billion, which is over 70 times greater than the amount the U.S. Congress has spent on aid for East Europe so far. In other words, in providing aid for this region, the United States would be just one of several partners, which would include West Europe and Japan.

Today, our relations with the United States await a revaluation, a cleansing from myths, and an adaptation to the European and world situation, so that they may attain a high level and a permanence which they have never known. This lies in mutual interests, which is confirmed, for example, by U.S. warnings against entrusting the task of West European economic development to a "new German superpower." While we are pleased with the U.S. applause, we remember that even the longest applause is only measured in minutes. In order to conduct an effective policy, it is necessary to establish facts which last for years.

Public Criticizes Sejm Deputies and Senators

AU0603163190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3-4 Mar 90 p 1

[Jan Rogala article: "In the Electorate's Opinion"]

[Text] One is beginning to encounter increasingly critical opinions of the parliamentary performance of Senators and Sejm deputies. Owing to the fact that parliamentary debates are regularly transmitted by radio and shown on television, they are listened to and watched intently, as well as critically analyzed.

In one of the "Solidarity" regions, a public opinion poll was taken. The questions concerned the performance of deputies and Senators who were elected to parliament in June 1989. Only 9 percent of those polled, believed that the deputies and Senators were adequately representing their local community and the interests of Polish society. For 38 percent of those polled, the work of their representatives does not seem to differ in any respect from their earlier predecessors in past sejms. Most of the people polled agreed that the Senators and deputies were seen to be working toward personal goals and were perceived to have lost all contact with their constituencies.

One would not normally attribute too much importance to the results of such a selective poll, were it not for the presence of similar signals. It is becoming evident that the people who were elected in June 1989 are beginning to disappoint the hopes placed in them by their electors. One could say that many of those who were elected a year ago would not find themselves in parliament today.

One of our readers has written: "If we do not watch them carefully, they will deprive us of all our hopes. It is impermissible that they should not be present at all sittings of parliament. Without their presence there, no new laws can be passed. We put our trust in them, we voted for them, and in the future we shall expect them to account to us. We demand that they should be where their place is, namely, the Sejm."

In the Senate bulletin, there have been similar complaints. "Watching the Sejm debates, I have come to the conclusion that for many deputies the Sejm is an amusement. All of you in the Sejm are busy fooling around. Enough of the unwanted discussions. Do you exist for the people, or do the people exist for you?"

In other letters to the Senate bulletin one comes across the complaint that the new parliament does not take the people into consideration: "Do you have a monopoly on truth in every matter; a monopoly on wisdom; and a monopoly on correct decisions? The nation is watching you and in its eyes, your standing is decreasing with every passing day. You will soon see this for yourself. The Sejm and Senate debates recall those of the old Polish kingdom, namely, opportunism and private interest. Please listen to what the electorate is telling you. Listen to the nation who elected you."

The activity in the Sejm and Senate is often seen as a forum where Senators and deputies take the opportunity to arrange their own private interests. Those who write to the newspapers and to the Senate bulletin, are convinced that parliament is side-stepping the fundamental problems faced by the nation: "The Sejm consists of empty chairs, and is full of unimportant matters; hot air and other useless matters."

What do the electors expect from their parliament?

They expect it to defend their interests, take responsible decision, and abandon private interests. These letters echo an authority whose legislative strength stems from its moral authority and a social conviction that the highest authority must pursue policies that give hope for the future.

After the period of uncritical acquiescence, the time for critical appraisal has come. The opinion that is emerging does not augur well for our parliament. Even if such opinion is fragmented and—as can often be, over exaggerated—it should not be underestimated.

POLITYKA Examines Armed Forces Reform

PM1403120690 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 6 Jan 90 p 7

[Colonel Dr. Jozef Jacek Pawelec article: "New Face for the Army"]

[Text] Rapid changes are currently taking place in the sociopolitical life of our country. In the Army, where nearly 100 percent of senior personnel hail from the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party], this leads to a specific trauma and gives people a "moral hangover." Consequently changes are slow to take place. Public opinion and the junior staff consider them to be far from satisfactory and often just a matter of appearances. To some extent this is indeed so. The replacement of a dozen or so middle-ranking officers, or the hanging of several new portraits in the campaign record rooms, the celebration of Army Day only on round-number anniversaries, or finally, the transfer of food reserves amounting to 7 billon zloty to the market (working out at 1 dkg of ham per head of population) are indeed only cosmetic measures.

The cadets of the Reserve Cadets School (SPR) in Pila wrote an open letter to the National Defense Minister (POLITYKA 46/89), complaining that they were wasting precious time for political training while their wives and children, who receive no wages, suffer hardship. They say that in their unit they still receive the traditional political "refresher courses," euphemistically termed "civic education," instead of decent subject training and an ideological education. The "refreshers" are run by the same people as before, often with no change at all in content or form. The same secretaries and deputy commanders for political affairs make up the composition of decision-making bodies in every case of any importance concerning Army affairs.

Let us consider the awards and promotions granted on Army Day. These important documents were signed by the chiefs of political directorates or deputy commanders for political affairs, while the senior decorations were presented (sic!) on behalf of the Council of State—a body which has not existed for almost six months now. I have witnessed such decoration ceremonies myself. I also recently took part in a meeting with a representative of the Army propaganda bodies on the occasion of an anniversary of the imposition of martial law. It was embarrassing to watch the pathetic presentation by the speaker to a sophicticated audience. The man was literally overwhelmed with questions to which he had no answers. For example, he was asked why he was offering that particular training course to full-time personnel rather than the opposition (the road to which lays through the media); why officers dismissed after 30 or 40 years' service are reduced to a semi-destitute state after a year or two out of the Army; why the Army was held up for public ridicule at Sejm sittings; why the democratization process was taking place so slowly that civilians had to prompt us on the new text of the military oath and it was to be expected that soon we would have to turn to civilians to find out about the new Army Regulations and other such documents.

Within the military community rumor has it that the Army political units are merely to assume new clothing and carry on exactly as before. The change of name from Main Political Administration (GZP) to Main Education Administration would seem to confirm the above reflections on the political training courses for the military.

Another recently observed phenomenon is that some officers responsible for political matters in the Army, who until recently were ardent Stalinists, have suddenly turned into enthusiastic reformers. This is a worrying development. You could accept that one or two of them really have undergone a change of heart, but it must be remembered that the democratization process is unfolding in public, in full view of a great many spectators and observers. The public have never approved of such spectacular, overnight changes of orientation, where people who have said one thing until a certain moment suddenly change course and come out with the absolute opposite the very next moment. History has always been quite uncompromisingly ruthless in judging such attitudes. I prefer not to cite examples here and now.

An ideologically committed person (and a political instruction officer was assumed to be such by definition) should, after all, be prepared to die a martyr's death for his convictions—unless, of course, he was not interested in ideology at all and had other reasons for choosing that particular career direction. But then, unfortunately, he should be expected to go.

There is an urgent need and demand for the setting up of a new body for educational instruction and direction in the Army. Its staff should be recruited from among the younger people and the noncompromised older individuals who command popular respect and authority. It would probably be worthwhile here to follow the example set by the Interior Affairs Ministry, television, or certain intellectual bodies, and launch some new faces who have not been in the limelight in the recent political interplay.

All the same, the Army must remain with us, even if it were to be disbanded at some later point in the distant future. Apart from all other considerations, this would be in the interests of economic stability. We should not be too keen or too impatient to get rid of all our assets—particularly the tangible, material ones. They could come in handy also for those at present invoking populist and pacifist slogans. However, the Army must now be based on new ideological foundations. It must invoke and draw on the wealth of the historical tradition of the Polish military and it must be patriotic in the first place and internationalist in the second place. It must serve the whole nation and it must win universal favor and approval from the population. At the moment, opinion polls indicate that half the population believe that the

Army does not fulfill the role for which it was created (POLITYKA 42/89). This is a disquieting sign. The martial law episode in our recent history has played a significant contributory role here, but that is not the whole story.

Let us, for example, take a closer look at the education and the science and research backup facilities in the Armed Forces. In almost every scientific discipline, the Polish Army has treated itself to corresponding higher education establishments or research centers. Thus, in the natural sciences we have the following: the Military Technical Academy (WAT), the Institute of Plasma Physics and Laser Microsynthesis, the Chemistry and Radiometry Institute, and three computer science institutes. In the social sciences and humanities, we had (until recently) the Military Political Academy and the Political Officers Training Center, as well as the Military History Institute and others. In medicine, there is the Military Medical Academy [WAM], the CKP [expansion unknown] WAM, the Military Institute of Aviation Medicine [WIML], and the Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology. In the military sciences, there is the National Defense Academy [ASG] and the Naval Academy. In the technical disciplines, there are the large number of establishments catering for the respective branches of the military, namely, the institutes of aviation, engineering, signals, ordnance, armored troops, and motor transport technology. This is not to mention the dozen or so officers colleges.

With such a potential in science and technology, the Polish Army ought to be a powerful and throughly modern force of the highest world standards. We know that in reality it is not so. Regarding the standard of technical equipment, and especially modern electronic equipment, it is in fact backward. Why? Because no army can be made technologically advanced by the method of continuously setting up increasingly expensive military institutes and higher education establishments.

Experience gained back in World War II proved conclusively that any army's standard and level of military equipment depend predominantly on the armaments industry (see, for example, A. Speers' memoirs). Only the big powers, such as the United States or the USSR can afford to maintain dedicated military academies and institutes. We must remember that Poland ceased to be a world power several hundred years ago. The other countries which have comparable or higher military potential, such as France or Sweden, simply run small departmental sections within their ministries or military staff headquarters, which order and purchase equipment for their Armies—ranging from handguns to whole space systems—from civilian firms. Our explanation is that we were afraid of disclosing military secrets, and therefore decided to manufacture everything ourselves, allocating 30 percent of engineers' time to general military training, alerts, garrison duties, and inspections; another 30 percent to political instruction and community work; and the remaining time to... reading the relevant subject literature (mainly Soviet, because recently we have been unable to afford to buy Western literature.) Today we have tons and tons of unwanted technical records, plans, and specifications which are of no use to anyone—with occasional exceptions such as radar—but the exceptions just prove the general rule. It was sheer absurdity to open the new Naval Academy at the time of the deepest crisis in the country. Evidently the name Higher Naval School did not sound grand enough. We even aspired to design our own military aircraft. These are indeed ambitions worthy of a superpower, perhaps even a colonial power... We have no civil marine academy, but we sure have a military one.

However, as the crisis developed and took hold, people's eyes began to open. The F. Dzierzynski Political Academy has been disposed of already, and others will follow in its wake. Incidentally, though, did we really have such a dearth of candidates for patrons of our military academies? Even the West Point military academy in the United States was named after Tadeusz Kosciuszko—a great miltary commander and a loyal Pole. Does this not put us to shame?

Recently there has been a lot of noise over the reductions in military research expenditure from the National Defense Ministry and the Office for the Advancement and Applications of Science and Technology budgets. As a result of these reductions many military technical institutes are collapsing like so many houses of cards. I am not at all surprised by this. These institutes are simply not economically viable as military establishments. One working hour there costs 35,000 zloty (January 1990), so the cost of a whole working day amounts to an average monthly salary. Consequently no economic calculation of costs and profits can save these institutes. There is a slight chance that they could be turned into private firms working, among other things, on Army-commissioned projects, but this will not take care of all of them and their entire structure, nor could they continue as military establishments. I wrote about this as long as five years ago in internal army documents, but I was severely reprimanded for it at the time.

The deliberations presented here constitute only a small contribution to the principal question of whether the Army makes proper use of the national assets placed at its disposal, and whether it can be universally accepted by the people. I would hesitate to answer either of these questions in the affirmative.

I trust fervently that my colleagues will accept this contribution to the question of renewal within the Armed Forces. In writing it, I was motivated solely by considerations of a higher order, and it is not my intention to voice any grievances here. I know that these are distressing problems, but if they continue to be concealed from the public they can only damage the Armed Forces' internal cohesion.

We should remember that the same Armed Forces brought us national freedom in 1918 and later defended

us again from the mortal danger that threatened in 1920. They shed blood for us on an unprecedented scale in the years of World War II. And though in 1981 they sided with those who introduced martial law in Poland, nonetheless they never crossed the line called "disgrace".

Michnik Calls for Unity in Solidarity

AU1103191090 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Mar 90 p 3

[Adam Michnik article: "Let Us Put Aside These Divisions"]

[Text] The Citizens' Parliamentary Club is facing a split. During the club's last meeting on 28 February, several deputies and senators put forward proposals aimed at transforming the club into a loose federation of various political tendencies and associations. In line with this philosophy, the separate groupings within the restructured Citizens Parliamentary Club would put forward its own candidates for posts in the club's presidium and its other structures.

Such projects should be the subject of public debate. In last year's June elections, millions of voters voted for "Solidarity" and not for the representatives of social democratic or nationalist parties. These voters should also have a say in any future transformation of the Citizens Parliamentary Club.

Let us not beat around the bush. The suggestion to reorganize the club is the first step to completely fragment the club. Putting aside personal animosities, rumors, accusations, slanders, and inflated ambitions, let us consider the mechanism of a particular process.

The origin of the Citizens Parliamentary Club is well known. The "Solidarity" opposition sitting at the "roundtable" put forward its list of candidates. Everyone could stand for parliament within the agreed 35 percent seat allocation. Many well-known political activists of various political orientations—for example, Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, Leszek Moczulski, as well as many others—tried to secure a parliamentary seat precisely in this way.

Throughout Poland the selection of candidates took place hurriedly. People who had nothing in common with the "Solidarity" organization, during the martial law period, found themselves on the election list of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club. Everybody was quite unanimous then that we would form one team, and nobody chose to inform the electorate that the team would be carved up into different political orientations.

The Citizens Parliamentary Club is now at a crossroads and will have to make a political choice. That is the essence of the present conflict. The rest is a question of political wisdom and personal integrity.

Regarding political wisdom, it is not the accepted thing to whip up personal animosities, in relation to the people who have been delegated to cooperate with the European Parliament, especially when one's own political qualifications are questionable. Regrettably, this is exactly what is happening.

It is highly irresponsible to call for early elections without first considering the implications of such a step toward the reforms initiated by Balcerowicz and the policies of the Mazowiecki government. For me it seems clear that calling for elections today is tantamount to political destabilization. At the present time stability is precisely what the economic reforms need.

The sudden claims of various "Solidarity" deputies and senators have brought to light hidden frustrations which are released through vehement attacks on the government and the leadership of the club. Such frustrations often manifest themselves in people who are participating in great legislative upheavals and have a sociological explanation. Nevertheless, they are disorders that have to be recognized, called by their proper name, and their symptoms combated.

I belong to that group of people for whom the political formula of the "Solidarity" movement suffices. I consider that it defines my preferences better than any invocation of the spirit of the left, the right, or of the christian democrats or social democracy, currently conjured up by some of my colleagues. I do not feel drawn to any of these labels, although I understand other peoples' points of view.

Several deputies left the Citizens Parliamentary Club and formed the Polish Peasant Party. I consider their action to be more wholesome and honest than are the calls to transform the club into a miniature parliament of conflicting groups that will make use of the club's prestige to settle their own private matters.

My suggestion is that we wait with these projects of divisions. At the next elections we can all stand under our own separate banners, but until then we should all cling together under the "Solidarity" banner.

Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution Profiled

LD0803074190 Warsaw PAP in English 1900 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 7—Piotr Ikonowicz, member of the leadership of the Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution PPS-RD presenting the profile of his party said, among other things: We do not see ourselves among Social Democrats, nor among the extreme left. We do not perceive possibilities for cooperation with newly founded parties, the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland SDRP and the Union of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland USDRP. We stand in opposition to the government due to its economic programme and the fact that the government has been formed "above society."

The party accepts November 15, 1987 as the date of its foundation which coincided with the reactivation of the

Polish Socialist Party PPS. Due to political differences, a new group emerged in February 1988, which during the December 19 programmatic conference added to the name of PPS the term "democratic revolution". According to party leaders it symbolizes the process which started in Poland in August 1980, whose aim is to achieve full parliamentary democracy, enriched by new forms of self-government democracy, including parliamentary self-government chamber representing workers' groups.

The PPS-RD is a party of the left and comes out in favour of firm actions in defence of interests of employees of state owned enterprises who are overburdened with effects of the economic crisis.

PPS-RD Issues Statement on Borders

LD1203133990 Warsaw PAP in English 2127 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Krakow, March 11—The Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution (PPS-RD) told a press conference in Krakow today that they firmly supported the stand by the Polish government on the necessary guarantees for the inviolability of the Polish western border.

The PPS-RD chief council issues a statement with an appeal to all groups of the party to unite to defend the ideals of socialism and working people. As the first step on this road the party named common lists in the coming elections.

The party also came out in favour of founding a self-government chamber to replace the present senate and represent the working people.

Socialist Party Adopts Statement on Germany

LD1203132990 Warsaw PAP in English 2135 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—The Provisional National Committee of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) adopted at its meeting yesterday two statements: on Germany unification and on the unification of Polish socialists.

The PPS supported strivings by the German nation to live in a united homeland but stressed that this could not take place at the cost of any neighbour, including Poland. The party demanded that Poland should attend the unification talks.

The party welcomed with satisfaction a declaration by the Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution (PPS-RD) on their readiness to unite with other socialist structures derived from the Solidarity opposition.

A conference of representatives of those structures should be held still in March to prepare a unification congress of the Polish socialists.

Jaruzelski Receives Deputy Minister Kozlowski

LD1103095190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski has recieved Krzysztof Kozlowski, the newly appointed deputy minister of internal affairs, who was the deputy chief editor of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY.

'Union of Real Politics' Urges New Elections

LD1203134390 Warsaw PAP in English 2137 GMT 11 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—The main council of the Union of Real Politics has decided to ask the Polish president to dissolve the present parliament and carry out new free elections.

In a statement conveyed to PAP today, the union said it was linked with parliamentis blocking the resolutions on privatization which closed the road to any substantial improvement of the situation.

Lithuanian Independence Declaration Welcomed

AU1403124190 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Mar 90 p 1

[Untitled editorial by Adam Michnik]

[Text] The first emotion that comes to mind on hearing the declaration made by the Lithuanian Parliament is of profound joy. Sajudis, the Lithuanian Movement for National Perestroyka, has achieved its supreme aim. The parliamentary elections have been won, and Lithuanian independence has been proclaimed by a Lithuanian parliament.

Nobody knows what this implies in practice. We Poles realize that this puts us under a special responsibility. Centuries-old Polish-Lithuanian ties compel us to regard the aspirations of the Lithuanian nation with great sensitivity.

This declaration is a test for the process of democratic transformations that was proclaimed by Mikhail Gorbachev.

We believe that the desire of the Lithuanian people to live in its own sovereign state will not lead to a reaction of Russian chauvinism, or put Lithuanian public opinion on a road that leads to antagonisms with other nations.

We believe that Russian-Lithuanian relations can be based on the principle of true partnership.

We believe that in a democratic Lithuanian state, there will be full freedom to enjoy civic rights by Lithuanians of Polish nationality who have lived in Lithuania for centuries, that their national dignity will be respected, and that they will be allowed to nurture their own culture.

We also believe that Lithuanian citizens of Polish descent will be loyal citizens of the Lithuanian state.

Finally, we hope that the Lithuanian declaration will not trigger-off any national conflicts and that it will become one more element in the process of democratic transformations that are taking place in our part of Europe.

Your good health, Lithuanian brothers!

Sejm Committee Examines Interior Ministry Work

LD1403000690 Warsaw PAP in English 2303 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 13—An extraordinary Sejm committee for the examination of work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs met here today. Members of the committee presented the opinion of working teams to the effect of deaths of 93 persons who had been under the surveillance of the Ministry and the circumstances of whose death still remain unexplained.

The committee is working all the time, head of the committee Jan Rokita, from the Citizens' Parliamentary Caucaus (OKP) told PAP. "E.g. if like today, in two cases, the committee is absolutely sure that military functionaries had been guilty of murder, even if it is difficult to establish the name of the concrete perpetrators (there is a conspiracy of silence of all witnesses), the very statement of the parliamentary commission that the ministry, military functionaries or lawlessness of militia's actions are guilty of it, is of great significance," Rokita said.

"In some cases it will be necessary to motion for initiating the criminal proceedings. It seems that the chief of the garrison prosecutor's office in Krakow is guilty of concealing the proofs in Bogdan Wlosik's murder case in Nowa Huta in 1982. The committee fully supported the motion to initiative criminal proceedings against the military prosecutor which is a matter without a precedent in Poland so far.

"Individual cases allow to draw conclusions as to certain systemic phenomena, for certain general statements on the way in which prosecutor's offices and militia work.

"I think that today's meeting made it clear that militia functionaries kill, prosecutors conduct the investigation on such a way as to discontinue it. This is one of the patterns which is repeated in every next case. The guilty are very difficult to find as there is no evidence (of their crime).

"And this is a vicious circle which has to be broken through the change of the system of these institutions and not only via making this or that man responsible for the deed. This change of the system has already been started," Deputy Jan Rokita said.

Hundreds Attempt to Enter Austria Via Hungary

LD1403192490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Excerpt] The belief that Romanian citizens were allowed into Austria up to midnight tonight, without a visa, has made Romanians leave for the border in the thousands. As Sandor Forgacs reports, many of them did so in vain.

[Begin Forgacs recording] The Orient Express arrived 30 minutes late at the Hegyeshalom railway station and left only after five hours delay. Some 1,300 Romanians had crowded onto the train. All were going to Austria because it had become public knowledge that the Austrian Government had made visas compulsory after midnight.

The Hungarian border guards and customs officials permitted the Romanians to travel on, but the customs officials of the neighboring country are very strict, and they allowed only those—who by the way possess regular passports—to board the train who had 5,000 schillings worth of currency. Those who did not have this amount remained on the platform, nearly 500 of them.

The police and the border guards cordoned off the tracks to prevent disturbances because they would like to send those Romanians who cannot enter Austria back to Budapest. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Reconsideration Asked

AU1503080690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Through ROMPRES news agency, our country's Foreign Affairs Ministry has informed those concerned, that beginning today at 00.00 hours the Austrian Government decided to temporarily and partially suspend the accord on the cancelation of visas between Romania and Austria concluded on 17 December 1968, because of the increased number of Romanian citizens who are going to Austria.

Consequently, those who want to travel to Austria privately, or who want to travel through that country, have to obtain the necessary visa beforehand from the Austrian Embassy in Bucharest. The latter has officially announced that visas will be granted free of charge.

The Foreign Affairs Ministry of Romania expresses understanding for the reasons of the Austrian side and hopes that this measure will be reconsidered and that the full application of the provisions of the 1968 accord will be resumed, so as to facilitate the development of bilateral relations, exchanges between our country, and better understanding and rapprochement between the Romanian and Austrian citizens.

PNUC Session Discusses New Electoral Law

AU1303124790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1218 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/3/1990—The stormy debates of each article of the voting bill postpone the endorsement of the other important normative acts on the agenda of the current Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] meeting. We remind that among them is a decree-law on the organization and functioning of joint ventures in Romania, and another on shortening the military service.

The parliamentarians decided to adjourn their discussion of the electoral bill for one hour so as to be able to debate all the normative acts on the agenda in their afternoon session.

Mr. Dumitru Mazilu attended the morning session in one of the boxes reserved for the press. A PNUC member put forward the proposal that he be admitted to the session as a full member of the Council. The proposal was backed by the fact that Mr. Dumitru Mazilu only resigned his first vice-presidency of the National Salvation Front Council and by his merits in the revolution. A decision is to be made after consultations with Mr. Mazilu.

Gives Romanians Abroad Suffrage

AU1303193490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1710 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 13/3/1990—The moments of quiet which, as a matter of fact, were few of the previous sessions of the Provisional National Unity Council were completely absent today. Whereas it took three hours to discuss the first six articles, today we needed five hours to get to article 12. Each article leads to hot discussions and frequent interruptions.

The unpleasant situation was arrived at that a council member, making a direct hint, said: "even if you had the right to boo me, please don't" speakers are under psychological strain. Mr Iliescu himself was accused: "hurry things up, will you? Have everyone take a vote." What one of the speakers said, namely "I couldn't physically resist to sit at the presidium table," best describes the atmosphere in this hall.

Extensive debates were held on the question related to the nomination of independent candidates for the assembly of deputies and the senate, as well as for the presidency. Numerous speakers were for the provision of a legal framework to ensure them equal opportunities with those running on behalf of political parties and grouping. In that context article 12 of the new law was amended offering the independents the possibility to candidate either individually or on lists provided they are backed by at least 251 electors for the assembly of deputies and the senate and by at least 100,000 for the presidency.

The debates on nominations for the president of Romania conducted during the Provisional National Unity Council session were opportunities to set forth various proposals and opinions, of which some were applauded intensely. That was the case of a warning spelled out by writer Mircea Dinescu: "mind you, gentlemen, we should not elect a president who might take the right of becoming eternal in his post."

Relative to a provision in the new election bill according to which "the date of the elections is to be set under a decree at least 60 days before the vote," the speakers called attention to the fact that that had been unjustifiable set in a "communique" issued late in January by the National Salvation Front Council, which, they said, ran counter to the rules of the new draft law.

PNUC Vice-President Radu Cimpeanu said the remark was justified and pointed out that the date of the elections should be set by the government and not by the Provisional National Unity Council. Consequently, the question remains pending and a solution is to be found later on.

I want to contribute to the establishment of a real democracy in my country within which the three goals of our revolution democracy, freedom, dignity to the drafting of which I contributed, should be fulfilled, stated Mr Dumitru Mazilu today to a ROMPRES editor.

The interview was requested in connection with the proposal advanced during the PNUC session that Mr Mazilu be a member of this body as on 25 January he resigned only from the office of vice-president of the National Salvation Front Council.

Mr Mazilu specified that since his resignation he had been consulted, in his capacity as independent, by his former colleagues of the human rights commission, where he set forth several of the ideas in his report for which, in the Ceausescu era, he had been under house arrest for five years. We remind that Mr Mazilu was a United Nations special rapporteur for human rights.

Mr Mazilu also expressed "his confidence in Romania's democratic evolution," despite "all difficulties" and even the tendencies of confiscating the revolution. "The process of Romania's democratization is irreversible," he said.

The Romanian citizens settled abroad vote. This provision, stipulated by article 20 of the electoral bill has been espoused by the Provisional National Unity Council. Thus the Romanian citizens abroad will vote at the polling stations at the Romanian diplomatic missions, consulates or trade agencies in the countries where they live. The same article stipulates that the polling stations abroad belong to the city of Bucharest.

The PNUC decided that the debates on the other decrees-laws and decrees that were to be held in the afternoon be again postponed. The debates on the electoral bill continue, and the drafts of the other normative acts on the agenda will be discussed by the representatives of the Provisional National Unity Council first thing on Wednesday morning.

After stormy and lengthy debates on the general provisions of the voting bill, in only one and a halk hour discussions progressed from article 13—a lucky number this time—to article 41.

Approves Article 41

AU1303195090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1835 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/3/1990—The approval of article 41 which refers, inter alia, to a possible contestation of nominations was another opportunity for hot debates which lasted for more than an hour. Some representatives requested the setting up of county or even national commissions made up of parties' members or independent personalities who should check up and validate the nominations. So the competence of courts was contested as some of the judges were considered to show no moral probity. On the other hand, the idea was maintained that, to prevent such situations, there was no need to set up like commissions as it was enough to challenge the respective juristic persons. Their creation would ignore a basic principle of democracy, namely the separation of powers in the state.

Ultimately, article 41 was approved in its initial form.

"We yield up power. Would you tell us who is willing to take it over?" said Mr Ion Iliescu. So did the most dramatic moment in the short history of the Provisional National Unity Council pass. Such a reaction was caused by the pressure exerted by representatives of some parties that asked a two-week postponement of the election date though the parliament was not supposed to debate such a question since the setting of the election term fell within the government's competence. Mr Ion Iliescu tried to make them give up party interests and place the country's interests in the forefront, a fact that encountered the opposition of political groupings (20 in all).

Despite all this, Mr Ion Iliescu ultimately suggested that the elections be held on 3 June so as to reach a consensus in that respect.

Nevertheless, there were many representatives who pleaded for the maintenance of the initial date. One of them said: "let us not forget we promised the people the date of 20 May. We should keep our word before these 23 million Romanians."

With 13 votes against, it was set that the election term be 20 May 1990.

The session will resume its works tomorrow to continue the debates by articles.

Hears Mazilu Proposal

AU1403091890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0842 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/3/1990—The current PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] session resumed on Wednesday morning. Debates proceed now on a proposal advanced by a group of parties that Mr. Dumitru Mazilu should participate with full rights in the council's proceedings.

Endorses 20 May Election Day

AU1403111990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0959 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/3/1990—Today's debates in the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] will end in all probability in the endorsement of the voting bill. The first 49 articles were endorsed yesterday. Likewise, the Provisional Council decided with a majority of votes that the elections be held on May 20. The debates are expected to be heated again, especially that the agenda includes also other important questions, among which the unfolding of the election campaign and of the elections proper, the assessment of the returns, the attributions of Romania's president, etc.

During the PNUC session, before the debates on the problems in the agenda, a representative of a group of 26 political parties, put forward a motion requesting the integration of Mr. Dumitru Mazilu in the Council, as an independent personality. Representatives of several parties, independent personalities, the prime minister, the president of the Provisional Council spoke on this question to express their accord or disagreement.

Dumitru Mazilu gave a few explanations.

After half an hour of heated debates during which serious charges were levelled at Dumitru Mazilu's attitude and activity, the Council's president said it was a pity that the discussions on this controversial problem were so penible [embarrassing] and proposed a break.

After the first interval, the PNUC resumed the debate and adoption, article by article, of the decree-law on the election of the Romania's parliament president. The seventh section of the law which refers to the unfolding of the electoral campaign is under debate.

Debates Campaign Financing

AU1403153490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1250 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/3/1990—During the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] session, a representative of the Roms' Democratic Union of Romania asked that it should be supported to retrieve 32,000,000 marks from the Federal Republic of Germany which account for damages for the sufferings of the Roms of this country in the Second World War. He also mentioned that talks were conducted with competent bodies in West Germany and the sums to be retrieved would go to the state budget.

During the debates on financing the political grouping's electoral campaign, fully contradictory ideas were expressed with regard to the possibility of receiving sums from abroad.

In the end, Article 53 of the electoral bill was amended, the financing of political parties from abroad or from other sources being forbidden if that was not publicly stated.

Hot discussions took place in relation to the access of the press, the cinematography, the radio and television in voting stations "only according to the law". How was that "only according to the law"? By special accreditation, somebody answered. In reply, the remark was made that such an accreditation meant to limit the participation of the press. On the other hand, the parliamentarians did not accept the inclusion of a special paragraph in the bill referring to the foreign press, cinematography, radio and television, which would make the impression of a xenophobic attitude. Consequently, the PNUC members proposed that the representatives of the press, cinematography, radio and television make the object of one paragraph in the law that specifies the free access of the Romanian and foreign press by accreditation.

The PNUC plenum decided to amend Article 57 of the electoral bill according to which the voting hours would be from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m.

It was suggested that the elections should end at 12 p.m. Or 11 p.m. After voting, it was set that the polling hours be from 6 a.m. to 11 p.m.

It was considered that the voting hours be extended so as an ever larger number of citizens be given the chance to exercise their right to vote.

Gives Commission Amendments

AU1403181290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1616 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/3/1990—After the debates on article 71, a break was taken, during which it was agreed that the amendments proposed for the next articles, up to article 77 included be submitted to a commission of experts which should decide on their opportuneness.

Proceedings will resume at 14:30 hours.

Hears Iliescu on New Bill

AU1403185490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1630 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Interview with Ion Iliescu, Provisional National Unity Council president, by Gheorghe Ghelmez for Romanian Free Radio-Television in Bucharest on 14 March—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] For approximately two hours now, Romania has had an election bill that has been endorsed by the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], whose proceedings are taking place in the Parliament Hall. At the end of the discussions on this election law, PNUC President Mr. Ion Iliescu made a statement exclusively to Romanian Free Radio-Television, a statement that we invite you to listen to now:

[Ghelmez] President Ion Iliescu, a few moments ago the PNUC voted on the new election bill. We would like you to say a few words to Bucharest radio about this document and about the discussions that have taken place for three days within the Provisional Council.

[Iliescu] I think that this has been the most important duty of the Provisional Council since it was set up. In fact the main reason for this Provisional Council was to prepare all the necessary conditions for the May elections. The most important legislative activity of the Provisional Council was, therefore, to formulate the election law. It is a document on which we have worked for a long time. It was begun back in January by a commission of specialists and jurists. It was submitted for public discussion in its draft version. Along with its public discussion, the party representatives, all those who desired to play the role of representative were welcome, and for one and a half months they worked to finalize it. Substantial amendments have been made: from the principle of uninominal poll we switched to the principle of voting on the basis of lists of candidates, which changes the technical voting modality, but which for the party presents certain advantages. Thus, this has been a laborious activity, which had to be performed, to formulate this bill.

Foreign observers from a few countries—from France, the United States, and from other countries—were surprised with this very comprehensive way of formulating a bill. It is not customary in the world that, apart from specialists and jurists, such a broad collective of representatives of political forces meets, especially since they are participating in the elections, in order to edit this law.

From this point of view, our discussions proved a very broad democratic participation in the formulation of this law that actually belongs to all the representatives of the parties.

It has been an activity marked by conflicting opinions, of options, and of views, an activity which continued during our current session.

For three days, or even four, as you could see, we discussed each separate article at length and thoroughly. There were different opinions, but finally we agreed on a unique platform with one vote against and two abstentions—so it was not exactly unanimous. Completely satisfied, the council members adopted this bill.

From now on, we proceed in a straight line.

[Ghelmez] Since the election date—20 May—has been confirmed, we are entering the election campaign.

[Iliescu] As I was saying, we are now entering straight into the election campaign, which requires a lot of work for the organizers and the government, for the central and local administration councils, which have to work out very many things envisaged by law; and it is a lot of work for the parties and political groups, which during these two months have to ensure that this whole process of the election campaign will unfold properly.

[Ghelmez] Thank you Mr. President.

[Announcer] Gheorghe Ghelmez listened to what the president said while you were listening to the program of Bucharest radio. Thank you.

Denies President Party Ties

AU1403191990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1840 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/3/1990—In connection with a claim a representative of the Democratic Union of the Romanies [Gypsies] of Romania set forth before the Provisional National Unity Council during its Wednesday morning session to the effect that the Romanies should be supported to recover from the Federal Republic of Germany 32 million marks as damages for the suffering of the Romanies in Romania during World War Two, the president of the United Democratic Party of Romanies, Romany woodworkers and fiddlers of Romania, Octavian Stoica, said that figure was not real. "Who and on what basis made that assessment? How can Mr Cioaba donate this money to the Romanian state? On whose behalf is he speaking? Our very presence here, as legally formed parties, clearly shows that the Romanies are represented by several groupings. We do not want that money to go to us, to our party, or to others. What we want, if that money is obtained, is that it should be invested in a foundation of an educational character.

Should Romania's president be a party member or not?

After a long period of acalmy [calm], with the articles of the election bill approved fast, the discussions became hot once that question had been raised. The president of the country will be the candidate of one or several political groupings unless he states he is independent. Anyway, at the time of his election, he should cut all the bridges linking him to the parties. The president is no longer responsible before a certain political grouping, which should agree on his political conduct beforehand, Mr Ion Iliescu said. The president will not obey party but state discipline, he said.

The article in the draft voting law remained the way the experts in the legal commission had worded it in the first place: "Romania's president cannot be a member of any political party or grouping."

The draft voting law became an election law today in the afternoon with three votes against and two abstentions.

Chapters VIII and IX—"Contraventions and Offences" and, respectively, "Final Dispositions"—were voted in less than an hour, which is a true record when compared with the others.

The fact is noteworthy that a proposal to the effect that Bucharest city should get 14 seats in the Senate—two for every residential area, instead of seven as the bill stipulated—was endorsed.

Another important amendment refers to the number of members in the Assembly of Deputies which stands at 387 instead of an original 331.

The law was adopted six days before the start of the election campaign proper.

Recognizes Joint Effort

AU1403213190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1940 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/3/1990—The election campaign has started, Mr Ion Iliescu told journalists after the election bill had been endorsed. Which means a great deal of work on the part of organizers, therefore the government, and central and local administrative institutions. They—along with the political parties—have a lot to do for the whole campaign to unfold in two months, Mr Iliescu added.

He considered the adoption of the draft voting law, a document that was carefully worked out, as the major legislative act of the entire activity of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC]. In this context, here a number of remarks:

This document was worded by a legal commission as early as January. In that form it was submitted for public debate. Over the interval it was also discussed by representatives of the political parties—50 in all—who, for one and a half months, worked to complete it and amended it quite substantially. A passage was made from the principle of nominal ballot to that of voting by lists of candidates, which changes the voting technique but gives a number of advantages to the parties. Therefore, the elaboration of the law was laborious. Foreign observers—from France, the USA and other countries—were surprised at the way in which that draft was worked out, Mr Ion Iliescu also said. It is not customarily in the world that a draft law be worded, besides jurists and experts, also by a large number of representatives of political forces, the Provisional National Unity Council president also showed.

Therefore, the text of the law virtually belongs to all the representatives of the parties. It was a confrontation of opinions and options, which continued during the current PNUC session, too. For three or even four days we discussed every article of that law at length and in details and we finally arrived at a single platform though not unanimously—there were three votes against and two abstentions. However, it was with full satisfaction that the council endorsed the draft.

During the Provisional National Unity Council session Mr Ion Iliescu thanked the attendance for the spirit of cooperation shown in discussing and adopting the voting bill. The PNUC president expressed his belief that the forthcoming election campaign would proceed in a civilized manner.

After the adoption of the election bill the decrees-laws issued by the Provisional Council Executive Bureau in its March 7 session were discussed and ratified—the decrees-laws concerning the rise in the value of the literary stamp of the writers in Romania, the institution of a theatrical stamp, the passage to a five-day work week in state-owned units, measures to draw in foreign investment in Romania by creating joint companies, the abrogation of legal provisions on the terms of wage payments for the personnel in construction-assembly units, the granting of rights to the railway transport staff, the reduction of full-time and shorter-time military service.

It was decided that the future meeting of the Provisional Council be held on March 24.

One of the decrees-laws the Provisional National Unity Council discussed and endorsed was also that concerning the passage to a shorter work week.

According to provisions under that normative act, starting March 1 all employees will benefit from two days off a months. Furthermore, until the end of the third trimester, the five-day work week will generalize in the economy as a whole, according to conditions created in each unit.

In his address, prime minister Petre Roman said each economic unit would decide on the particular time it passed to a five-day work week, as an expression of the decentralization drive in the Romanian economy.

The debates on the decree-law regarding measures of drawing foreign capital in Romania lasted for almost two hours.

Taking the floor during the session was Prime Minister Petre Roman who answered questions and requested that the decree-law be passed in the form in which it had been advanced.

The council is debating and approving the decree-law by articles.

In the last part of its Wednesday session the Provisional National Unity Council approved the decree-law regarding measures for drawing foreign capital in Romania.

The adoption of this law, Mr Ion Iliescu stressed, marks a political moment, encouraging foreign capital, a promising beginning of the development of the future Romanian economic legislation.

The law is illustrative of Romania's intention to put forward to the world its wish of openness, said Prime

Minister Petre Roman who answered numerous questions asked by the council members, most of them referring to the protection of the national economy and of the authochtonous work force. In that context the government was recommended to include in the future normative acts regulations concerning the payment of the Romanian staff employed by trade companies.

The only amendment accepted by the council was that proposed by Academician Alexandru Birladeanu to article 12 regarding the payment of profits.

Allows Independent Candidates

AU1503112490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0905 GMT 15 Mar 90

[Text] Here is the legislative courier! Dear listeners, at the beginning of today's program we will present an outline of the Decree-Law on the Election of the Parliament and of Romania's President, a normative act of exceptional importance for the social and political activity of our country, which was adopted yesterday by the plenary session of the Provisional National Unity Council.

As is stressed in the introductory part of the aforementioned normative act, this decree-law incorporates the results of the proposals and conclusions formulated by the specialists, as well as the results of the discussions with the parties and political groups, and with our country's whole public.

Bearing in mind that the revolution dismantled the power structure, and in view of the provisional nature of the current bodies of state power, the decree law also includes some norms in the nature of a basic law, without which the elections could not take place. Among these are the dispositions on the name, structure, and function of the Constituent Assembly and Legislative Assembly of the Parliament. The same applies to the regulations regarding Romania's president and his powers.

At the same time, regulations have been issued on the right to vote at the age of 18—by the time of the elections—and to be elected at the age of 21 to the Deputies Assembly and at the age of 30 to the Senate.

It is a universal, equal, direct, secret, and freely expressed vote.

The decree-law we are presenting regulates the electoral system on the basis of voting registers, with voters having the possibility to elect the parliament and to run as independent candidates.

The main consequences of adopting the voting register are as follows: Each county and Bucharest Municipality represents an electoral district, a party or political group may propose only one list in any electoral district, while the number of candidates in the list should not be higher than the number of deputies or of senators who may be elected in the given electoral district.

A person may run as a candidate for Parliament in only one electoral district. The voter votes for a list of candidates, or an independent candidate.

The results of the elections are established at the level of the county on the basis of the electoral coefficient, and at the national level by taking into account the unallocated mandates and votes at the county level that were not enough to support one mandate.

As far as the election of Romania's president is concerned, the whole country is viewed as the electoral district. The centralization of the election returns will be carried out at the national level.

In connection with the organization and holding of the elections, the decree-law stipulates how the polling stations will be set up. There will be the central polling station, district polling station, and polling stations of voting sections. The voting register lists all citizens with the right to vote; special lists will be made up for students, and the Army.

In connection with candidacies, the decree-law stipulates that they will be proposed by the parties and political group. It is possible for independent candidates to run for a seat in Parliament.

The decree-law also includes regulations regarding the election campaign. It safeguards the freedom of election propaganda and elections under conditions that will ensure equal chances for all candidates. For the same purpose, the decree-law also provides for dispositions on violations and infringements in order to avoid acts that might influence the proper progress of the elections.

Timisoara Trial Continues 12 March

AU1203160890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0855 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/3/1990—The trial of the 21 defendants, former officers of the former Securitate and militia, who [word indistinct] and charges of complicity to genocide, favouring genocide and other offences committed during the Romanian revolution of 16-22 December 1989 continues in Timisoara.

Defendant Ion Baciu, former chief of the economic direction of the General Militia Inspectorate, was examined on Monday, 12 March, in the morning.

Details on Theft of 40 Corpses Released

AU1303083790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0700 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/3/1990—The Miliary Department of the Higher Court of Justice continues its judicial action against 21 persons accused of complicity to genocide, activity favouring genocide and other offences committed in Timisoara from 16 to 22 December 1989.

In the last two sessions several defendants were heard Ghircoias Nicolae, ex-director of the Institute for Criminalistic Technique of the General Militia Inspectorate, Baciu Ion, former head of the Economic Department of the General Militia Inspectorate, Ciuca Valentin ex-chief of the Technical-Material and Financial Means Office of the Ministry of the Interior's Timis County Inspectorate, Avram Gheorghe, Preda Laurentiu, Peptan Eugen, Veverca Iosif ex- officers of the Timisoara City Militia's Legal Office.

They are accused to have taken part in the partial removal of the traces of the genocide at Timisoara. According to a plan worked out in the evening of 18 December 1989 by the late chief of the General Militia Inspectorate and deputy minister of the interior, Nuta Constantin who died eventually in an air crash, the decision was made to steal forty corpses from the Timis County Hospital Mortuary and take them to Bucharest's "Cenusa" crematory. It was also decided that the corpses which were to be taken to Bucharest be selected by defendant Ghircoias Nicolae who knew what the situation of the dead and the injured was after he consulted the hospital registry. The road vehicle in which the corpses were loaded a refrigerator was driven by Ciuca Valentin from the head office of the Timis County Militia Inspectorate to the mortuary and then to Bucharest, the corpses being loaded and unloaded by the Militia officers Avram gheorghe, Preda Laurentiu, Peptan Eugen and Veverca Iosif.

The success of the action agreed to by the hospital director, Golea Ovidiu Sorin, and conducted in his presence was warranted by a blackout in the hospital yard so that the patients and the staff may not notice what was going on.

It was agreed that 36 km before Bucharest a group of officers led by Baciu Ion wait for the refrigerator vehicle driven by Ciuca Valentin to come and direct it to the "Cenusa" crematory where the 40 corpses were cremated and the ash was put into containers and dumped in a sewer hole.

Before the corpses were cremated, defendant Baciu Ion asked the workers who did the job to keep it secret wherefore he paid them 2,000 lei each.

Besides, steps were taken to guard the crematory during the incineration under the control of the same defendant and other officers of the ex-general Militia Inspectorate's Economic Department.

Throughout the hearing, the defendants maintained their statements given during the criminal proceedings, but argued that they did not realize the unlawful character of their action. They also said they regretted they had carried out that order which they could not shun.

The trial continues.

Cernavoda Nuclear Plant Construction Continues

AU0303172190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1129 GMT 3 Mar 90

["Cernavoda Quality Check"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/3/1990—Although there are requests for most careful check of the quality of the installations, equipment and services in existence or under way, the building of the nuclear-electric power plant at Cernavoda is not discontinued, says Dr Stefan Alexandru Olariu, chairman of the National Commission on Nuclear Activities Control.

For the safe operation and the reduction to a minimum of the risk of operating trouble and radioactive contamination of the environment with grave consequences, the commission's chairman requested the Ministry of Electric Power the beneficiary of the Candu-type station being built by cooperation with Canada, to take urgent steps by the end of the month to check the quality of the works done at the Cernavoda plant so far, of the products supplied by industry and installed there in strained conditions imposed by the dictatorship. The supplier enterprises and the beneficiary should be authorized again, based on the check, to continue their activity based on the supplier-buyer contracts for Cernavoda.

In tune with the Ministry of Electric Power, Dr S.A. Olariu speaks up for the participation of the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency through an operational safety review team in checking the quality of the works and services in the Cernavoda plant. Such a team could more correctly assess the operational safety of the station, without however being able to reduce to zero the risk accepted from the onset in the case of the nuclear power station, the Cernavoda one included.

Politicians on Post-Electoral Coalition Cabinet

AU0703191090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1651 GMT 7 Mar 90

["The Near Future—A Coalition Government ?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 7/3/1990—The newspaper "ROMANIA LIBERA" of March 7 carries opinions expressed by personalities of the Romanian political life who, answering whether any of the existing 51 political groupings could govern by itself, even if it won a majority of the vote—without monopolizing power. The newspaper refers to a statement recently made by the National Salvation Front President [NSF], Ion Iliescu, who said that no matter the results of the May 20 ballot the "form of government should be a coalition," a multi-party coalition in fact, as most of the political parties, the NSF included, are too weak to take over power.

Mr. Ion Minzatu, president of the Republican Party, considers the prospect of a government coalition as the sole possibility "if no grouping emerges as a detached winner."

In his turn, the president of the Ecologist Movement, Toma George Maiorescu, considers that were the elections to be held in September—a term that would allow of the territorial organization of the parties—"the immediate institution of a coalition government would be an ineluctable demand" to take the country out of the crisis to which it is heading at a fast pace, to secure stability, calm and prosperity. However, such a government would have no motivation for the two and a half months left until May 20.

Mr. Sergiu Cunescu, secretary-general of the Social Democratic Party, considers such a solution as premature right now for lack of sufficient elements for such a decision. The Social Democratic Party's position in principle on the question of a government coalition, he said, is that it would best meet the interests of the nation as a whole when the time comes.

The president of the Bucharest organization of the National Liberal Party, Mr. I.V. Sandulescu, says that until the election there can be no talk of a coalition government. After the elections, he said, no party will be able to govern by itself and the problem of government coalition will arise.

Finally, Mr. Liviu Petrina, secretary-general of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, considers that the current political situation in Romania—where the number of parties is very large—calls for a government of technicians at the helm of the country to provide conditions for political neutrality. The formula of a government coalition is an artificial creation that cannot operate in a manner to suit the current stage on Romania's road to democracy. As for the possibility of a coalition government after the elections, he said: "The elections will choose."

Daily Publishes Election Bill Clarifications

AU1303222390 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Mar 90 pp 1,2

[Valentin Constantinescu article "Necessary Clarifications in Connection With the Election Bill"]

[Text] 1. Elections have to take place on the basis of candidate lists, and not according to electoral districts. Elections on the basis of candidate lists ensure the election of deputies and senators proportionally to the number of votes won by each party; thus the system based on lists of candidates ensures more democratic and more judicious elections. Elections according to electoral districts can lead to the situation where a party that has won the largest number of votes in all electoral districts gets all the seats of deputies and senators, while all the other parties, which together may have won more votes than the party whose candidates have been elected, do not receive any seat of deputy and senator; thus elections according to electoral districts—apart from the fact that they are not consistent and profoundly democratic—may generate the exclusive leadership of a single party, something which—we like to believe—no one desires.

2. The parliament (the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate) has to become a constituent assembly for the adoption of Romania's constitution. Only after the adoption of the constitution can Romania's president be elected, because only the constitution and not a previous decree-law (a normative act of lesser importance, and moreover issued by a provisional state power body) establish whether Romania will be a presidential republic (as France) or a parliamentary one (as the FRG), in other words whether the president will be elected directly by the people or by the parliament; it is also the constitution that will establish the term for which the president is being elected. Therefore, Romania's president has to be elected after Parliament and local council elections, that is after the adoption of the constitution.

3. We believe that the mandate of Romania's president should be limited only to two terms for the following reasons:

—Deputies and senators are not political leaders, but people's representatives;
—Government members are indeed political leaders; however, the period of exercising their mandate usually varies and does not correspond to a legislature, hence there is no danger of a single and prolonged leadership;
—For the members of local councils this fear is so unjustified that it seems slightly ridiculous (let us not confuse the democratic mayor with the local first secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, who—at that level—was omnipotent!)

4. One of the duties of Romania's president will be the granting of amnesty. We do not understand why this important duty has neither been envisaged in the draft decree-law for the election of the parliament, Romania's president, and local councils, nor in the decree-law on the setting up, organization, and operation of the National Salvation Front Council, and of the territorial councils of the National Salvation Front (published in the press of 29 December 1989) as one of the duties of the National Salvation Front Council, despite the fact that—according to our knowledge—the latter has issued two decrees on amnesty.

5. The Assembly of Deputies and the Senate have to be made up only of deputies and senators who have been elected not appointed. The criterion of representation, grounded in each citizen's right to adhere a political program, has to be unique: of a political order. Adding another criterion—be it national, racial, religious, or of a sexual nature—is in fact an act of discrimination (of an inverted discrimination, but also discrimination). In the

United States of America, the country with the oldest democratic constitution in the world, where several races and nationalities are living together, the criterion of representation is, as it is consistently democratic and normal, unique: of a political order.

6. The electoral bureaus—at all levels—must also include representatives of the political parties and the minutes have to be signed by both the president and the members of the electoral bureau, which also applies at all levels, and not only at the level of the polling station, as envisaged in the draft decree-law. We should not forget that one of the reasons why the 1946 elections could be falsified was the absence of representatives of opposition parties in the electoral bureau—at all levels—and the nonobservance of the compulsory existence of the signature of those representatives on the minutes of the electoral bureau—also at all levels.

RCP Background of Supreme Court Chairman Viewed

AU1403101790 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 Mar 90 p 1

[Prosecutor Dan-Ioan Mirescu article: "Completing a Biography"]

[Text] The magazine "22" No. 7 of 2 March 1990, put out by the Group for Social Dialogue, carries an interview with Mr. Teodor Vasiliu, Supreme Court of Justice chairman, which is contained in an article entitled "A Show Without Headlines" by Mrs. Gabriela Adamesteanu.

In his answer to one of the questions connected with his professional activity and previous functions, the chairman mentioned that he belongs to the branch of jurists (!); used to be a prosecutor; was a judge for a while; between 1970-1975 he was minister of justice; and then he worked in diplomacy (as ambassador to Sweden) until 1981, when, for reasons which are not difficult to imagine, he was pensioned off for health reasons. Finally, on 21 December 1989, together with six other jurists he set up a democratic association.

For the sake of truth, some additional details are needed to round off this picture, so that all the citizens of this country can get to know the past of the current chairman of the highest forum of justice.

He was a military prosecutor, including the period 1951-1952 (most of us know what kind of trials were held at that time in the military courts), then prosecutor at the General Prosecutor's Office, then director of that institution, and at the same time—your attention please—he was secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee.

Excelling in his political duty, he was promoted to the RCP Central Committee, special section, advancing to the rank of deputy head of section. Naturally, he became RCP Central Committee member, minister, and then ambassador.

The end of his diplomatic career came not as a result of political differences with the former dictator, but a protocol error.

As far as the setting up of the democratic association on 21 December 1990 is concerned, without contesting it, I ask myself whether the members of this association did not think of it a little too late?

I do not know the chairman personally and I am not complaining, but, to paraphrase a television program, I think I should say "there are truths which we need."

Dan-Ioan Mirescu, prosecutor

Editorial Note: In accordance with the draft electoral law that has been published (Article 32) the Central Electoral Bureau includes the chairman of the Supreme Court of Justice plus six other judges. Therefore, the free elections of 20 May will be carried out under Mr. Teodor Vasiliu's supervision. Is there anything else to add?!

Justice Minister Pop on Outdated Constitution

AU0803125190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1206 GMT 8 Mar 90

["The Constitution—Antiquated?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 8/3/1990—The 1965 Constitution was not abrogated in terms of law, but the new realities in Romania may restrict its sphere of action to the point of inapplicability. This is, in broad lines, the answer of the minister of justice, Teofil Pop, said, to a question asked by "DREPTATEA" the organ of the National Christian and Democratic Peasant Party.

Basic levers of the old state structures were abolished in the early post-revolutionary days, said Mr Pop who referred to the levers of power: the one-power leading role was replaced by the principle of political pluralism, and the separation of powers in the state was proclaimed. Under these circumstances, there were constitutional provisions that stopped being effective, either through implied cancellation or through disagreement with the facts which made them become antiquated.

On the other hand, there are in 1965 Constitution provisions that are not at odds with the principles of a democratic society. It is not impossible that some of them retain their full applicability, Mr Pop said in conclusion.

Antiterrorist Units' Role in Revolution Reviewed

AU0803183390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1551 GMT 8 Mar 90

["The Film of the Revolution: The Truth About the USLA"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 8/3/1990—The military of the Special Antiterrorist Fight Units (USLA), suspected to have been terrorists on the days of the revolution, virtually fought, alongside the army and the people, for its victory and safeguarding, writes the newspaper "TINERETUL LIBER" quoting a statement by Colonel General V.A. Stanculescu, minister of national defence.

The newspaper runs a series of articles under the headline "Heroes Killed in Action" which tells public opinion the truth about the USLA. The doubts in this country and abroad about the role of "USLA" soldiers on the hot days of the revolution were caused by the two four-wheel-drive armoured cars, belonging to the USLA, which were badly damaged nearby the Ministry of National Defence where they had been sent to protect the building of that ministry, which headquartered "the military brain" of the revolution, from terrorists. In the fights against the terrorists who attacked the defence ministry seven USLA soldiers, faithful to the revolution and to the people, died—Lieutenant Colonel Gheorghe Trosca, Captain Trandafir Eugen Cotina, first sergeants Ion Muicaru and Emil Oprea, sergeants Florin Constantin Surpateanu, Teodor Negoe and Ion Constache and four were wounded.

The USLA military, although belonging to the Ministry of the Interior, immediately placed themselves under Army subordination and they did not take part in the repressive acts against the demonstrators either in Bucharest nor in Timisoara.

They faithfully obeyed the orders of the Ministry of National Defence as concerned the defence of embassies and of such important units as airports, railway stations and buildings of major importance in Bucharest and throughout the country. The USLA military also worked, together with the Army and the revolutionaries, to sweep the capital's catacombs clean of terrorists and to drive them away from the buildings wherein their took hide fighting against the revolution.

PNUC Session Discusses Agricultural Situation

AU0903201490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1845 GMT 9 Mar 90

["PNUC Session"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/3/1990—Soon after answering the interpellations during the 9 March PNUC [Provision Natio. l Unity Council] session, Mr Petre Roman stated: The economic situation continues to be difficult. It can be sensibly improved only if we reorient economic activities toward two directions. The former, to streamline material resources, energy in particular, to the profitable sectors with guaranteed market, the latter, to fastly and largely extend the sectors manufacturing products for the population. The effect would be immediately felt by the national economy as a whole.

I would have expected the major question in my address today, that of agriculture, to acquire a stronger political touch, the premier said. Which has not happened and, therefore, my voice remains somehow isolated in the context. Still, I am glad that there is no dispute on such a topic. All in all, the PNUC representatives' concerns are those which any man of good faith in Romania I think can have.

As the debates on the first item on the agenda ended, Foreign Trade Minister Alexandru Margaritescu answered questions related to the ministry's activity addressed by the members of the Provisional National Unity Council.

The speaker mentioned that the fundamental issue facing the ministry was the shortage of Romanian commodities caused by slowed down economic activity in industrial units.

As for the recouping of the credits granted by Romania, he said that understandings had been reached for the paying back, in counter-trade with adequate amounts of crude oil of only 150 million dollars. Also, lists were established with goods of interest to Romania, that would be purchased on account of the money owed to Romania by some countries, including Libya, Iran, Egypt and Sudan.

The speaker also referred to the planned imports of food. He showed that contracts had been concluded for farm-food stuffs worth 600 million dollars, and contacts had been recently established for the purchase of products totalling another 210 million dollars, with specific deadlines established for all those products.

The speaker then referred to the steps taken for the decentralization of the foreign trade activity, through a greater role assigned to speciality and industrial enterprises. He covered also other routine questions of the ministry.

In the first part of the PNUC session, in answer to the council members' interpellations, Prime Minister Petre Roman gave pride of place to questions in agriculture, which is only justified at this time of the year. The dismantlement of the current structures in that branch would lead to a failure in the attainment of the targets set for the current farm year, the speaker said. He then stated in an interview with the ROMPRES that he had expected the council members to show by far more interest in that extremely important domain. The only address of consequence was made by the representative of the Party of Social Justice who, referring to the situation of ownership in agriculture, which he considered ambiguous and lacking perspective, requested that the village residents be given the 50 ares of farm land each as property for life and with the right to heritage but be forbidden to alienate it inside an interval of 20 years.

Speaking of industry, the prime minister mentioned that the foreign capital investments in cent per cent form [as received] would be allowed only with the approval of the government that had no intention to sell the country to anyone. Re-technologization and modernization of

industry are needed, a drive in which Romania cannot achieve fast results without foreign support. Investments, he said, either foreign or autochthonous, are necessary in order to employ the available manpower being as such one of the requisites of easing the pressure of unemployment, along with retirement and a passage to the five-day work-week.

Answering another interpellation, Mr Petre Roman showed that no priority was granted to France, as he was reproached by some PNUC members who mistook that country's active presence in Romania for elements of a sentimental foreign policy. Pointing out that materially the FRG was the most active state in Romania now, Prime Minister Petre Roman announced he would answer invitations and visit that country soon.

During debates, reputed Romanian economist Ion Blaga showed that the prime minister's proposals regarding the absorption of the monetary mass from the population were perfectly justified for him, agreeing to the launching of a public loan covered with state bonds, as well as to the fast starting of a private program of housing, holiday house and other constructions.

Although with many empty seats, which may be the effect of the Bucharest spring, the parliament floor knew today quite enough interesting speakers to conduct substantive debates, betraying wise optimism, the confidence that the lethargy of the Romanian intelligence is about to be dispelled, that the communist petrification yields to the freedom manifest in all domains of socio-economic life.

The first part of the PNUC session proceeded, which is quite remarkable, without the speakers' pursuing any personal purpose, in an atmosphere of calm, discipline and regard.

In his address, Mr Nicolae Stefan, minister of agriculture and food industry, reported on the imports made until now: fodder 180 million dollars, soya grit 131 million dollars, fish meal 14 million dollars, and so forth, out of 360 million dollars worth of imports. 35,000 tons meat entered this country in January and February which were distributed to consumption.

The effects of fodder imports appear in the increase of the production of egg, milk, fowl meat, in the growth up to the slaughtering weight in pig farms.

In connection with the questions posed by representatives of some political grouping referring to aspects of the land-leasing for a long term of years, Minister Nicolae Stefan showed that it was natural to allot land in various places because all the members of a family cannot be given 5,000 square meters each on the same parcel.

The question of the peasants' title deeds was one of the most debated issues. Taking part in the discussions, PNUC President Mr Ion Iliescu said inter alia: The problems of the relations of property require a more serious approach. 30 years elapsed since the present cooperatives had been set up. The truth is that their status had not been observed and the state had mishandled them and interfered in their planning, structure of activities, purchasing farm produce below costs, which resulted in nonprofitable units. We shall discuss all these questions. But the spring campaign is in full swing. Let us ensure that people are allotted lands for a long term of years or for life, including the inheritance right, but let us stop the sale of land which would lead to the disorganization of activities this year. We should not use this subject for electoral propaganda.

Nicolae Cerveni of the Socialist Liberal Party spoke up against this way of seeing things and retorted: Nobody makes the electoral propaganda the Front [National Salvation Front] makes, here included. You should not settle things, but suggest a stance in principle.

President Ion Iliescu went on: We must ensure the Romanian agriculture the prospect of becoming an efficient and modern agriculture. Worldwide, those who dominate the cereals and foodstuffs market are the holders of large farm units. In the U.S.A., which covers half of the world cereals trade, it is not done on 13 hectares, but on large farms, which have eradicated small property in time. Cooperation was not created today, but a long time ago. In Italy and France and in other countries, farm cooperatives are a form of property which ensures force, competitiveness, modernization.

Hence, we are not against land property but we also want to see large associations of landholders. One cannot think of giving back land to those who, most of them, are dead. There are zones where there are no people to take the land. There are other zones where there is not enough land. Certain cooperatives were dismantled. In these 30 years a number of activities have developed which have changed the value of land. There are three million of irrigated land. [sentence as received] Intensive tree-growing exists which cannot be dismantled because we could destroy it. Considering the current structure in cooperatives we shall discuss individual property, in parallel with cooperative one. We should not hinder this process.

The law provided for the modalities of allotting land. Whoever conditions it breaks the law and is to be punished.

Mr Cerveni spoke again and said: The concern now is to redress a terrible wrong, to solve the problem of the peasants who were dispossessed of land. This problem of the peasant-land relationship must be solved.

It is true, Mr Ion Iliescu answered, but we should do it wisely and not during the farm campaign. There is time for it too.

Nicolae Bobu, lawyer, member of the Steering Commitee of the Roms' [Romanies] Union of Romania,

raised another problem, a sad one in his opinion: Work is important and not property. The Roms want to work and they need land for this.

Liviu Petrina, secretary-general of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, suggested that producer cooperative farms be dismantled for 24 hours and the next day peasants be invited to join again in cooperatives and this would be answer to the property issue.

Liberal Democratic Party Introduced

AU1403113290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0924 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/3/1990—The Liberal Democratic Party is a political grouping open to all social strata and segments. It is a centre party militating in defence of the fundamental values of society and considering man as the essential factor, said the party President Nica Leon.

The Liberal Democratic Party's organization on a central plane has been completed in broad lines and so far strong organizations were created in 33 counties, President Nica Leon also said, adding that the Liberal Democratic Party was to bring out its own mouthpiece, called "LUMEA DEMOCRATIEI" (THE WORLD OF DEMOCRACY).

Italians To Help Restore Romanian Villages

AU1403111190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0956 GMT 14 Mar 90

["Romania in the World—Romanian-Italian Collaboration in Architecture"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/3/1990—The Ion Mincu Institute of Architecture in Bucharest plans to collaborate with faculties of architecture in Italy as well as with the international union of architects for the organization of programs to remake the Romanian villages so savagely disbanded during the dictatorship, stated in an interview with a ROMPRES reporter the rector of the Bucharest Institute, Sandu Alexandru. Together with Italian experts, the institute will start actions to support the complex development of the villages. Likewise, Italian architects volunteered to organize, together with the institute of architecture in Romania, an international professional debate on the reorganization of what had been improperly called the civic centre of the Romanian capital.

Programs of Romanian-Italian collaboration in architecture will be achieved this year also with speciality faculties of the Turin Polytechnic, the University of Modena and the Venice Institute of Architecture.

Brucan: 'Socialism Failed Lamentably'

AU1403194490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1835 GMT 14 Mar 90

["Mass Media—Silviu Brucan on 'Europe Decade'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/3/1990—The 1990 decade seems to be "Europe decade," states Mr Silviu Brucan in a New York dispatch he contributes to the independent daily "ADEVARUL."

Whereas in the past years the term in fashion for Europe was "eurosclerosis" accompanied by the most pessimistic prognoses, now the confidence in business is dominant on the continent, investments and the number of work places have grown in number, and all this before the year of EEC's integration to which experts attributed such a change. The integration is influenced by the existence of an enemy or an economic competitor, in the case of the EEC the enemy being the USSR and Eastern Europe, while the competitor the USA and, recently, Japan. [sentence as received] Gorbachev's peace and disarmament initiatives and the change in Europe's look have eliminated the stimulus for integration presented by the "enemy", remaining only the competition in the world market with the USA and Japan. The West European integration in 1992 is questioned as a broad cooperation and intense economic exchanges develop in Europe. Moreover, the relative equilibrium of integration based on four European powers—West Germany, France, Great Britain and Italy—is suddenly broken by the potential emergence of a united Germany against the background of a sensitiveness to a partial or gradual renunciation of sovereignty, states Brucan.

"Europe decade" is favoured by the fact that, while after the war when they were talking about the "American century" the USA was holding 50 percent of the world production, its share is of 23 percent now, and Japan takes over the financial leadership in the world. Europe comes fast from behind with a growing overall national product. Despite all this, there is a menacing factor for Europe: the Pacific, where there is the most dynamic economic growth in the world sustained by Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, while in future by China. That area can become the principal economic centre of the world.

For the time being, in the still conflictual process between the East and the West, capitalism has a favourable situation, while socialism has failed lamentably, Mr Silviu Brucan winds up.

Army Viewed as 'National Symbol of Independence'

AU1403214590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2044 GMT 14 Mar 90

["The Army—a National Symbol of Independence"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 14/3/1990—The Committee of Action for the Democratization of the Army sent the news agency "ROMPRES" a communique on the March 12 meeting between executives of the Ministry of National Defence and committee members.

The document shows inter alia:

Everyone considered that the deciding role in the broad openness and in encouraging the assertion of democratic options had been and was played by the acting minister of national defence.

The talks highlighted a unity of opinion on the fundamental issues relative to the place and the role of the Army in society.

The Army should by now means be the object of interference of political parties, as it builds its own lasting democratic status, revealing and rejecting any subversive attempt at manipulation.

Numerous valuable ideas were expressed on the principles underlying the relations between the political, the administrative and the executive, on the way of employing the Army in time of peace and in time of war, on the content of the law of the Army and the status of the military personnel.

Everyone agreed that in order to avoid the negative effects of political instability, the national defence minister should be a military man, who should not be a member of the government and who should be directly subordinated to the country's president elect.

This modality virtually strengthens and sanctions the principle of complete depolitization of the Army. To maintain the link between the Army and the government and to back the Army's interests in parliament it was suggested that the prime minister should appoint a minister secretary of state in charge of military affairs in future.

Attention was called on the danger of distortion of realities by elements hostile to the process of political and social stabilization who may mystify the truth to slander and incriminate the Army.

Although there were addresses that raised the question of meeting a number of immediate legitimate needs of the Army, the whole course of the meeting proved the entire staff's major concern to strengthen the cohesion of the military body.

It was considered that the stability of the Army should be questioned at no time and in no way. Through its participation in safeguarding the cause of the revolution the Army once again proved that it fully identified itself with the people by dissipating lies and ignorance.

There were speakers who made critical remarks in connection with the delay in meeting the demands under the February 12 appeal or with the preferential approach to those demands.

In his closing address, the national defence minister said that the democratization of the Army had just started, that the Army should turn into a national symbol of the Romanian people's independence and dignity.

At the end of the proceedings Mr Ion Iliescu said the process of democratization was an objective need that called for the purposeful participation of the military in improving the military system, in safeguarding collective and individual constitutional rights, all while responsibly assuming the lofty duty of unconditionally defending Romania's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Serbia Proposes Abolishing Law Protecting Tito

LD1403152990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1153 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—There is no need to protect Tito's name and deeds by a law because history and time will give judgement on it, in any case. This was concluded today by the Socialist Republic of Serbia Executive Council, which also stated that there are both constitutional and legal grounds for abrogating this law.

This attitude indicates that the Serbian Executive Council has accepted an initiative by a group of delegates in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Serbian Assembly to abolish the law protecting the name, image, and deeds of Josip Broz Tito. Explaining their initiative, the delegates note that the existence of this law is not just a legal absurdity but it is also contrary to our overall efforts to democratize public life and to introduce a law-governed state.

A law will not protect Tito from the judgement of history and objective scientific criticism. He was probably neither an absolutely perfect nor an absolutely bad politician and statesman and the final word on this will be given by science on the basis of relevant facts. The initiative will be submitted for consideration by delegates in the Serbian Assembly.

Trifunovic Closes Serbian LC CC Meeting

LD1303213290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] [no dateline as received]—In his closing speech at today's session of the Serbian League of Communist [LC] Central Committee, Bogdan Trifunovic, Serbian LC Central Committee president, stressed that over the last two and a half years the Serbian LC had initiated and pursued a new policy, it advocated and fought for bold economic and political reforms and produced a number of good results. He went on to add that it was precisely this policy that determined the direction in which the Serbian LC was going to develop.

—We have gone back to the good old democratic traditions of our socialist movement and of the LC that implied our openness toward people, Trifunovic said and warned that the "LC would jeopardize its own chances of remaining a strong political force if it were to assume again the role, organization, and the method of the Communist Party with all its characteristics." Parallel with its transformation into a political party the Serbian LC must also undergo changes if it is to become a modern party of the left.

Although the Serbian LC is particularly interested in the survival and unity of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] with its renewed program and democratized internal relations, which it sees as being of great importance for Yugoslavia's survival and development, Trifunovic said, we cannot afford to occupy ourselves with this issue exclusively.

—We shall not allow changes or preelection maneuvering in any of the republican LC organizations to weaken or hamper our determination to achieve our goals. We must focus more on ourselves. Our party's strong position within Serbia will be a guarantee that reforms in our republic will continue and will ensure its progress and its favorable and equal position in the Yugoslav Federation, Trifunovic said.

Having noted that only a democratic debate among the membership would guarantee sound program orientations, the Serbian LC Central Committee president emphasized that there would be no taboo subjects in the debate and that even proposals for changing the LC's name would not be considered as such.

Serbs, Montenegrins Protest in Lipljan

LD1403212390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1844 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Lipljan, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—Dissatisfied with municipal leaders' mild and inadequate assessments of the demonstrations of Albanian separatists in January and February, Serbs and Montenegrins held a protest meeting in Lipljan this evening demanding—for the second time in the past several days—the resignations of the president and vice president of the city's municipal assembly, of the Socialist Alliance of Working People president, and of the head of the Public Security Department.

Though their first request was not met, they said that they would not give up their requests for resignations. However, it was stated this evening that Bajram Arifi, Lipljan municipality president, announced the possibility of a resignation, but only due to his new duties in the SFRY Assembly.

There were suggestions at the meeting to form voluntary units because, asked Ljubisa Crenkovic, how long are the citizens going to beg the state to do its job? At this meeting in Lipljan, Serbs and Montenegrins also angered the authorities because of the insufficient investment of funds from the Yugoslav Program for Kosovo.

Serbian Renaissance Party Elects President

LD1003230290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1855 GMT 10 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 10 (TANJUG)—Vuk Draskovic, a writer, not only has not been expelled from the Serbian National Renaissance Party, he was elected its president, it was stated today by the Serbian opposition party central board.

A statement the opposition party issued today explains that "Temporary president of the party Mirko Jovic, of

Nova Pazova, was against a coalition of the Serbian National Renaissance party with several other Serbian opposition parties which was proclaimed last night at a meeting 11 Serbian alternative parties and associations convened on the problem of Kosovo Province. [sentence as received] Draskovic was in favour of the coalition.

At the meeting Jovic suddenly took the floor and declared that Draskovic was expelled from the Serbian National Renaissance Party.

Differences over the question of the coalition were the reason for Jovic's unexpected act.

The opposition party central board statement says that because of such conduct Mirko Jovic was expelled from the party and Vuk Draskovic was unanimously elected the party's new president.

Paper Calls Draskovic 'Political Chameleon'

AU1403114690 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 90 p 7

[Unattributed commentary: "Who Is Vuk Draskovic?"]

[Text] Some almost unbelievable, but unfortunately real, phenomena are becoming more and more conspicuous on the Yugoslav political scene. Until recently disguised, crooks and politickers, now encouraged by the development of events in the country, are taking their masks off one by one and openly playing ominous games fatal to the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, and thereby invoking fratricide. Vuk Draskovic, Serbian National Renewal leader and a blind nationalist, is one of those hellhounds.

Who is Vuk Draskovic in fact?

This controversial man from Gacko, who was born in Vojvodina not quite 44 years ago, often features on the pages of the Yugoslav press. When describing him, some journalists use a knife as his symbol. Is it because he has written a novel with that title or because he persistently advocates a pro-Chetnik program? It is a fact that Draskovic is a writer. He is also a publicist. He is extremely prolific. He has written stories and novels of a very provocative kind. Before that, he finished grammar school in Gacko and graduated in law in Belgrade. While still only a law graduate he occupied a high "staff" political post and was also writing successful political "Communist" speeches. What followed then was an unbelievable metamorphosis at an accelerated pace. From a "par excellence" Communist, Draskovic underwent a chameleon-like change and became a fanatical anticommunist. Since that time, ignoring the fine reputation the writers' profession enjoys, and with an insolence verging on intolerance, he has devoted himself to spreading the idea of creating the so-called Great Serbia.

The wickedness of Draskovic's anti-Yugoslav activity can also be seen in his explanation of the program orientations of the Serbian National Renewal: "The Serbian National Renewal advocates the resumption of the borders of the former Kingdom of Serbia and the annexation of the parts of the present Yugoslavia in which Serbs live. Therefore, the following regions would come under Serbia: Vardar Macedonia—which is southern Serbia—and parts of Bosnia, Slavonia, Hercegovina, Lika, Kordun, Banija, Knin Region...." According to Draskovic, provinces would be abolished in such a Serbia. He also does not recognize Montenegrin, Muslim, and Macedonian nations and envisions the abolition of the republics in which members of these nations live.

Stressing that the Serbian National Renewal will have to engage all its strength and resources in the struggle against the present borders inside Yugoslavia that were drawn in Jajce allegedly in a criminal and illegitimate way, Draskovic demands that Serbia's dowry, with which it joined Yugoslavia in 1918, be enlarged by all those regions west of the Drina and Baranja in which Serbs represented a majority on 6 April 1941.

He is advocating a policy of "Serbian national reconciliation" and presents the Serbian National Renewal, of which he is the main protagonist, as the party "of former Chetniks and partisans and their children and grandchildren."

In all that mad anticommunist campaign of his, this man, who was an "excellent" Communist not so long ago, does not forget the Yugoslav People's Army either. Instead of our Army he would like to create a "Serbian Army" on the model of the army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. He presents Draza Mihailovic as having been the first guerrilla fighter in Europe and—just as the people who are his models do—says Chetnik legions were the Yugoslav Army of the fatherland.

When he tells his stories, Vuk Draskovic is persistently fomenting interethnic intolerance. Not a single murdered, humiliated, or injured Serb will remain unavenged, he says. He claims that the old Serbian tombs have still not been avenged and adds that the dead are stronger than the living. We must start making lists of our enemies, we must retaliate for every injury. We must not complain, but defend ourselves. Without such an effort and attitude, there is no moral renewal or general resurrection of the Serbian nation, Draskovic claims adamantly.

In what he is doing and the way he is doing it, Draskovic has joined the most extremist Chetnik emigres. After all, he does have close contacts with them. He is no longer trying to conceal his destructive approach. Instead of writing a book, he is in fact brandishing an unsheathed knife. This is something too dangerous to be tolerated even if it were a theatrical play.

Such and similar "players"—political chameleons—must not be allowed to become directors on the already seething Yugoslav social scene.

Serbian Government on Ties With Slovenia

AU0503082790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Accusations Are Not Correct"]

[Text] Belgrade—The Socialist Republic of Serbia Assembly Executive Council believes that a large section of the Yugoslav public knows that the "countermeasures" undertaken by the Socialist Republic of Slovenia Assembly Executive Council against the Socialist Republic of Serbia, in particular against the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, are unfounded and untenable. The statement issued at yesterday's session states that in order to enable people to make fuller assessments and inform the Yugoslav and other public, the Socialist Republic of Serbia Assembly Executive Council has decided to present some facts that should shed more light on the whole problem.

The statement stresses that the state and political organs of Slovenia are persistently striving for a confederation, that is, an asymmetric federation in which the notion of a unified Yugoslav market would be reduced even more than what today amounts to only ensuring a free movement of goods, which is to say to ensuring a free market for the sale of its own goods, a market that would be deprived of other necessary properties of a unified market—the taxation system, taxation policies, and the general responsibilities of the federal organs—that would make Yugoslavia a real federation.

It is clear that this is in conflict with the agreed and published stands that were expressed during the talks between the presidents of the Executive Councils of Serbia and Slovenia. According to these stands, they would act in such way "that the economy and society as a whole would be ensured conditions...for the realization and functioning of the Yugoslav unified market in all of its aspects...." However, even after this they continued to strive for a confederation or an asymmetric federation with a narrow comprehension of the unified market. This in fact boils down to striving for preserving and deepening the unequal economic relations, which have primarily resulted from a hitherto lack of equal openness.

Even under the present conditions, it is claimed, the accusations made against Serbia with regard to an alleged economic blockade of Slovenia are not correct. Some trade enterprises broke off or reduced the volume of business cooperation with Slovene enterprises for market reasons.

It is an undisputable fact that the Slovene state, political forums, and media are continuously expressing very negative attitudes toward Serbia. These attitudes are causing justifiable bitterness among Serbian citizens and businessmen concerning the otherwise inequitable economic relations. There is hardly any need to mention various open attempts to prevent constitutional changes in Serbia so that it could attain the constitutional-legal sovereignty on its entire territory, the kind of sovereignty enjoyed by other republics, including Slovenia—the statement of the Serbian Executive Council states. There is no need to recall what happened in the Cankar Hall, the statements concerning the defense of the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] made in the Old Square, the statements about the alleged political trials in Kosovo and a lack of democracy in Serbia, about the imperilment of Albanians, and not Serbs, Montenegrins, and other peoples and nationalities in Kosovo, something that has strongly encouraged Albanian nationalism and separatism.

Democratization, political pluralism, and reform orientations in Serbia are not of a declarative nature, but have in fact appeared in quite specific forms and have quite specific content that are and will be increasingly developed. It is clear that these processes must equally be pursued in all other parts of Serbia, including Kosovo. It is also clear that one must proceed from the necessity to ensure full freedom, security, and a normal life for Serbs, Montenegrins, and all others who want to live in Kosovo, as well as the necessity to preserve and comprehensively realize the equality and dignity of the members of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo so that they do not feel in any way as if they were the second-class citizens, while, of course, preserving the territorial integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The Executive Council of Serbia states further: In this situation, what were the Serbian citizens and economy expected to think about this "care" that comes from Slovenia, care that does not refer to the imperilment of Serbs, Montenegrins, and others in Kosovo at all, but that refers to those who are endangering others as endangered? What were they expected to think about the demands from Slovenia for lifting the emergency measures in Kosovo while terrorist actions by Albanian nationalists and separatists continue, about Slovenia's refusal to observe the orders of the federal organs to send its militia units to Kosovo, about the demand that the soldiers from Slovenia should not carry out their duties as part of their activities in Kosovo, because these activities allegedly represent an unnecessary repression of Albanians?

Finally, what were the Serbian citizens and economists to think, and what kind of attitude could one expect and demand from them as regards economic relations with Slovenia, if its prominent politicians and other public workers go as far as openly saying that Kosovo cannot be an integral part of Serbia?

The Executive Council of Serbia concludes with regret that the Executive Council of Slovenia has itself—in its statement of 22 February of this year, qualifying the present measures of the federal government, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo concerning the implementation of the Yugoslav policy on Kosovo as a "policy of repression" that "we Slovenes are simply against"—acted contrary

to the content and essence of the joint agreement contained in the statement of the Executive Councils of Slovenia and Serbia of 5 February of this year.

The orders to the Social Accounting Service of Slovenia given by the Executive Council of Slovenia not to observe the federal law on paying contributions to the federation, as well as its refusal to obey the order of the federal organs to send militia to Kosovo, represent unprecedented decisions that grossly violate the functioning of the Yugoslav federation.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Unequal Relations

Serbia's share in the creation of the Yugoslav social product is twice as large as that of Slovenia. On the other hand, Slovene enterprises export to Serbia around 60 percent more goods than Serbian enterprises export to Slovenia. In addition, the sales, in terms of the degree of the completeness of products and price, are very unfavorable for Serbia.

When one takes into account the retailing through one's own trade network, relations are even more unequal. According to data up to 31 December 1989, Slovenia had 515 trade units and purchasing stations in Serbia, while Serbia had only 144 such places in Slovenia.

The extent to which the markets are open is also illustrated by the fact that Serbian enterprises (such as Simpo from Vranje, Beko, Rubin from Krusevac, and others) were in various ways hindered in developing their businesses in Slovenia.

Markovic Addresses Assembly Commission

LD1403105890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1625 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council [FEC], as the protagonist of our country's reform program, is ready with all progressively oriented parties and organizations to enter jointly a multiparty struggle during this period so that this program can be tested during the election in combat with other programs, should there be any, and to have the Federal Assembly constituted on this program. This was stated by FEC President Ante Markovic in his statement during today's session of the SFRY Assembly Commission for Constitutional Issues.

During a long and controversial discussion, this commission decided by majority vote to propose to the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber to establish that the conditions are at hand to embark on changing the SFRY Constitution in light of the proposal put forward by the FEC and by the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina. In this way, the dilemmas were set aside whether after the negative stand taken by the Socialist Republic of Slovenia Assembly toward a part of the FEC initiative (taxation system, role of the FEC, financing the federation, status of the National Bank, powers vested in the federal organs concerning the implementation of federal laws) constitutional changes and formulation of the amendments can, in fact, be tackled at all. The reason for this conclusion was the interpretation that the Constitution allows the assemblies of the republics and provinces to express their views on the totality of draft amendments or on individual proposed amendments.

Having stressed that "our objective is not to bring inflation down merely for the sake of doing so but to bring about a new development to produce a new quality of life," the FEC president said that the the FEC has noted that the assemblies of the republics and provinces have given their consent to the proposal to have the Constitution changed or that by and large they do not oppose these changes. The only thing that can be discussed is to what extent the assemblies have at this stage agreed on the extent, depth, and quality of the changes.

The FEC believes, Markovic went on to say, that constitutional changes cannot be adopted in any other way except through a confrontation of arguments, both expert and political arguments, when only those amendments can be put forward and adopted that had received complete agreements from all the republics and provinces. The FEC is aware that its proposal as a whole, if adopted, opens up the opportunities to effect changes in a most rational and most efficient way and with the best results, but it is also aware that the adoption of even a single change will be ahead of what we have now. What we are obviously talking about is to make constitutional changes possible and get a political optimum, the best optimum possible in the current situation, he said, adding that the FEC has already drafted draft amendments that can be put at once at the disposal of the Constitutional Commission and its bodies.

Markovic stressed that the FEC has opted for "the kind of draft constitutional changes that should make it possible for our country as a whole, having already fulfilled certain conditions, through a process of development to become part of European and world cultural and economic developments on an equal footing. To be able to do that, the scope should be opened for further democratization, including the changes in the political system in which, he said, a paramount place is reserved for the freedom of citizens and the inviolable nature of their rights, a law-governed state that must protect their rights and all those who in this system are entitled to enjoy relations of equality and competitiveness; the scope must be opened within which the independence of the courts and of the prosecution service, the right to assembly by the citizens including inner-party and multiparty organizations, and the right to democratic and secret elections in which the parties have the right to work for power, and the right to win power will be guaranteed. In light of all this, said Markovic, the FEC has put forward "a consistent proposal that makes it

possible for all the problems emerging during our development toward a modern and democratic society to overcome in an optimal, efficient, and less painful manner."

Markovic went on to say that economic institutions and mechanisms were formed during the implementation of the economic reform. The commodity market is already working and the capital market is in its early stages. The formation of the labor market is imminent and we will still have a lot of problems setting it up. We have made our currency convertible, our market supplies situation is excellent, and we have a high rate of foreign currency reserves that guarantee the stability of our currency and its rate of exchange, as agreed for this year. Inflation is coming down every day and we are seeing a wave of price reductions. This is happening without any need for administrative regulations, and by virtue of the system that we had conceived and that is already functioning. The logic of this system presupposes that the possibility of pursuing an autonomous policy of economic relations with foreign countries and of monetary and fiscal policy should exist at the federal level, and that as far as taxation is concerned a common basis of taxation policy must be adopted on the basis of a unified system. The economic reform and policy have already produced imposing results that vindicate everything done so far and that entitle us to open up a process of further changes, the FEC president stressed.

The FEC believes that parallel with the changes in our political system, the status, role, and responsibility of the FEC must be established, too. In fact, Markovic said, in our proposals we suggested that the FEC should only formally keep its old title because, in essence, the formation of a federal government is being proposed.

The FEC is aware that many forces, ranging from nationalistic and separatist forces to the conservatives and dogmatic, will be against the changes. However, Markovic stressed, the FEC is also aware that this proposal is a powerful integrative factor of our country: It presupposes a rallying cry of all progressive forces in our society to constitute themselves together with a new society in a multiparty struggle for power on this program and together with it, with a chance that they will open up for this country the scope for a democratic, economic, and in every respect a happier life and development. [passage omitted on discussion by several delegates and procedural issues]

Army Officer Resigns from Council of Croatia

AU1203132690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Mar 90

[Text] Lieutenant General Milan Zezelj has informed the Presidency of Croatia that he has submitted his irrevocable resignation as a member of the Council of Croatia.

In explaining his resignation, Lt. Gen. Milan Zezelj writes to the Presidency of Croatia, that by not preventing Tudjman and allowing him to resurrect Ustasha ideas, the door has been opened to Pavelic's specters of the past and disquiet has been brought into the homes of honest Croats and Serbs throughout Croatia.

Croatian Students Form New Coordinating Body

LD1403142990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1207 GMT 13 Mar 90

[Text] Zagreb, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—The coordinating body of student movements and initiatives of Croatia, the orientation of which will be that of opposition to the existing student organization that arose from the Socialist Youth Federation, was presented today to the public in the main hall of Zagreb University. It is made up of four "elite" organizations with a small number of adherents, but they claim to represent "the views, orientations, and standpoints of most students."

A representative of one of the organizations of the Croatian student federation, which as a guest recently took part in and greeted the general assembly of the Croatian Democratic Community, intimated that, with the assistance of the student organization of Croatian emigrants in the United States, Canada, and Australia, a "Grand All-Croatian Student Assembly" could be organized by the end of the summer semester.

This "coordinating body" requested the disbanding of existing student organizations "because of their illegitimacy, or rather their status acquired in the conditions of single-party rule," and the organizing of secret and general elections for the leadership of a new student organization. The character of this opposition organization is also illustrated by their proposal to remove from the public places of the university and from student halls of residence "all pictures, busts, flags, and other symbols that represent any party," as well as the demand to abolish "the destructive subject of all-people's defense and social self-protection as well as the political and ideological subject of Marxism and the theory and practice of socialist self-management."

Peasants Alliance of Croatia Founded

AU1303092390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Mar 90 p 4

[B. Gulan report on interview with Peasants Alliance of Croatia President Ilija Mircetic; place and date not given: "A Party out of 1,000 Committees"]

[Excerpts] Vinkovci [no date as published]—A peasants alliance has been formed in the Socialist Republic of Croatia. The new peasants organization has developed from the former Republican Committee, which worked under the auspices of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Croatia. The first president of the Peasants Alliance of Croatia [Savez Seljaka Hrvatske] is Ilija Mircetic, a peasant from the Vinkovci area, who was hitherto head of the Republican Committee for Rural Areas and Agriculture.

[Gulan] Why has the committee been turned into the Peasants Alliance of Croatia? Is this only a formal change or will there be some essential changes in its activity as well? There have been about 1,000 different committees for rural areas and agriculture in Croatia so far. They were at different levels, ranging from local community level to communal level, and almost all of them have expressed the wish to develop into the Peasants Alliance.

[Mircetic] The present committees consist of about 80 percent peasants and 20 percent experts. The initiative to develop into the peasants alliance was started by peasants themselves. I want to say immediately that our alliance and alliances within the republic do not want to be single-national. Our alliance is open to all those people who want to strive for the realization of peasants' aims and demands for better and cheaper food production. [passage omitted]

[Gulan] Conditions have now been reached to form a Yugoslav peasants alliance. Will it be formed?

[Mircetic] That aim has been set down in our plans for future actions. The initiative was made by the Vojvodina Peasants Alliance and was also mentioned at the meetings of the Section for Rural Areas and Agriculture of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia. We also support that initiative. We have already elected our representative to that body.

Slovene Radio Comments on Tudjman Party

AU2802180790 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Sharp reaction to the general meeting of Tudjman's Croatian Democratic Community has broached a question that may soon become topical in Slovenia, too: Will we allow the appearance of rightist organizations on the political scene? Gojko Brvar comments:

To some extent one need not even answer the question, because we already have had some rightist content in the public speeches by some representatives of the Slovene parties. Support for repressive legislation regarding abortion, the stress on the national interests above the individual ones, and some other such statements reek of healthy Slovene conservativism. However, it would be difficult to attach the rightist label to the program of any of the Slovene alliances because other elements in their programs put them firmly close to the political center. We thus have no proper political right in Slovenia, as the Croatian Democratic Community could be in Croatia.

Of course we must first be clear in our mind whether we are ready to admit it at all. For years (?the movements) with this label carried in our minds a warning bell, implying the not-very-convincing suspicion that the right always means violence and blood. For the sake of propaganda, we always equated the right with rightist extremists, and of course we would not recognize the leftist extremists.

In fact, a quite stable political right exists in the world, a right that struggles for its aims within the constitutional rules and with legal aims, and although its aims are not close to our heart, it does attract quite a number of people. As its program aims tend to the extremes, (?it gains) less mass support, and only an abnormal political situation in the country imparts more weight than usual to the extreme elements.

(?Let us use) the example of the Serbian National Renewal, Draskovic's banned political alliance, which makes a better running in the public than it deserves. Precisely its example shows that a ban on such an organization does not solve anything. The ban pushed it from the open scene to underground.

In a normal political situation, the right takes care of political equilibrium. It is also clear that the equilibrium will be more stable if the right has an equivalent counterweight on the left.

Let us return once again to the reaction to the general meeting of the Tudjman party: It began in the conventional way, with a political denunciation. Not a very long time ago, this would be followed by an immediate ban on its activities. However, the Croatian Executive Council decided to examine its legality, and this is some progress. Let us nevertheless wait for the end of the denouement.

Croatian Democratic Community Elects Leaders

AU0503164290 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 90 pp 1, 6

[V. Krsnik, F. Vondracek report: "Strongly in Favor of Croatian Sovereignty"]

[Excerpts] Zagreb—The first general assembly of the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC], which was attended by 1,760 registered delegates, ended in Zagreb after two days with the election of Dr. Franjo Tudjman as president—the only candidate for the post—and with the indication that the party's right wing is stronger than was assumed.

At the end of the congress, the delegates adopted several resolutions and demands including a resolution on the demographic catastrophe in Croatia, a resolution on the collective and individual membership of the CDC by Croatian emigres, and a resolution on changing the words of the anthem "Our Beautiful Homeland." They also adopted with acclamation demands for support for the Croats in Janjevo in Kosovo and the Croats in Hungary, as well as a demand for the erection of a monument to the unknown soldier in Zagreb to remember all those who gave their lives for the freedom and independence of Croatia, the establishment of a Croatian news agency, and stricter measures to protect the environment. The proposed message of peace, love, and friendship, which was read by the Reverend Ante Bakovic from Zagreb, was accepted in principle only because some of the delegates disagreed with certain formulations in it. [passage omitted]

The election of the CDC president and other prominent people in the leadership bodies of the CDC was carried out in line with the altered statute. Writer Hrvoje Hitrec was proposed as another candidate for the CDC president, but he declined the nomination. Of the 1,760 delegates, 1,426 voted and of these 1,382 expressed their confidence in the previous president. There were 31 invalid ballot papers. The president, Dr. Tudjman, then proposed his leadership team, asking first of all that his proposal be adopted, which was accepted with acclamation. Vladimir Seks, Professor Dalibor Brozovic, Josip Manolic, Perica Juric, and the Reverend Ante Bakovic were proposed as vice presidents and Stipe Mesic as chief secretary while Prof. Kresimir Balenovic was proposed as Main Committee vice president and writer Milivoj Slavicek was proposed as Central [sredisnji] Committee vice president.

The Main Committee will be made up of Central Committee members, who number about 55 members, all the CDC communal committee presidents, and future assembly representatives. During the election of Central Committee members, quite a large group of delegates gathered around the rostrum, demanding that they propose their own candidates or they express their disagreement with some of those who had been proposed. The most persistent delegates were the 52 from Osijek who protested the nomination of Branimir Glavas because of his autocratic behavior. However, since they did not manage to say this to the audience, they left the hall, only to return a half an hour later. At the suggestion of Dr. Tudjman, the quarrel within the party will be resolved in Osijek so that the assembly did not have to discuss it.

At the end of the assembly when time ran out, since the hall had only been booked until 1600, Dr. Tudjman intervened again. The intervention arose when the Reverend Ante Bakovic proposed a message of peace, love, and friendship to be sent to the Serbs. Invoking brotherly love and the fact that Croatia is their homeland, too, the message expressed the wish for Croats and Serbs not to quarrel and particularly not to fight. The Serbs were called upon not to be taken in by the propaganda from 7 Francuska Street [the premises of the Serbian Writers Association] concerning supposed endangering of the Serbs in Croatia. Since there were calls for reason against sick nationalists and mythomaniacs who aspire to destruction, the appeal recalled the common homeland of Croatia in the SFRY state.

Protests by individuals in the hall grew into boos, which prompted Dr. Tudjman to come out to the rostrum and explain that he personally supported the message but with certain corrections. He then mentioned that Croats consider their state to be the Socialist Republic of Croatia. "We do not want to endanger Serbs and therefore I propose this message of peace, love, and friendship, but we are demanding that the Serbs respect our Croatian sovereignty," Dr. Tudjman said and proposed that the final text be worked out by the leadership, which was endorsed with acclamation. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Party's Rally Causes 'Fear,' 'Confusion'

AU0403214590 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 90 p 1

[Srdjan Spanovic commentary: "Euphoria and Fear"]

[Text] Only several months ago, symbols under which the First General Assembly of the Croatian Democratic Community was held would be a reason to open court proceedings and perhaps ban the meeting because party flags and other "paraphernalia" bore no "socialist," but only "historical Croatian" symbols. Not so long ago, some of the participants of the meeting held in the Zagreb Vatroslav Lisinski Hall on Saturday and Sunday would not have been granted Yugoslav entrance visas at Zagreb Airport. They would have been denied visas at the SFRY diplomatic and consular missions in the countries they are coming from, because for some, who knows what, reason their names feature on "black lists." Some of them would have probably been arrested after entering Yugoslav territory. Only several months ago, some of the speakers would have gone from the rostrum directly to prison instead of to their hotels.

As early as on Sunday morning after the paper came out, VJESNIK journalists received many telephone calls from people who said they were worried and afraid after what they had seen on television and read in the newspaper reports on the first day of the General Assembly of the Croatian Democratic Community. Some people were irritated by the euphoric mood shown at the meeting, intolerance toward different opinions, symbols that reminded some people of the "illustrated reports" [expression used in the wartime Independent State of Croatia] from the first years of the fourth decade of this century and others of "Bolshevik communist congresses" from the final years of the same decade. Women were irritated by the "uncivilized attitude toward women and their right to decide to have children," that would be implied by banning the right to abortion. Many people opposed the programmic demand of the Croatian Democratic Community that the Adriatic Highway should not be built.

What we witnessed were reactions typical of a society of unanimity and "official opinion," a society not used to a multiparty system in which it is legitimate to have rightist political parties with programs that irritate or frighten many people or simply cause confusion. However, after a multiparty system had been introduced and the preelection campaign officially began in Croatia on 24 February—in which the Croatian Democratic Community was the most conspicuous with its meeting held in Zagreb on the first day of the campaign, obviously with the view to demonstrating the party's numerousness and strength—one would have to accept the legitimacy of a wide range of political parties that will belong to the right, center, or left and will aim at winning the elections with their different programs within the framework of constitutional and legal freedoms and rights. The basic criterion of acceptability of those programs can only be the voters' attitude toward them, that is, the number of

votes received and assembly seats won by a party in the free multiparty elections. This is the way voters accept or reject programs of extreme leftist parties in Italy, France.... Their existence is simply implied by democracy.

Promises Made in Slovene Election Race Viewed

AU1403214890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Various parties' candidates for posts in the Slovene Presidency and the Republican Assembly have recently made so many promises to their voters that, as they admit themselves, God himself would not be able to fulfill them all. We do not know whether God would help, but party struggle would certainly not be interesting without promises. Here is a report by Relja Atanasijevic:

[Atanasijevic] One would need a thick book to list all the promises Slovene candidates made about what they would advocate at the Slovene Assembly. When watching big-mouthed candidates, I had a vision of having in front of me Father Christmas, Santa Clauses, and St. Nicholases who have set off from the North Pole and hot regions with sledges and carts loaded with almost identical presents. It was as if they were not carrying different presents.

They all say that they will advocate their republic's economic and political sovereignty and its confederalist status within Yugoslavia, freedom, human rights, and rich and [words indistinct], therefore all that is already contained in the "Europe Now" package.

Candidates who are a little more extreme say that they will demand the introduction of Slovene money and a Slovene army explaining that these are the preconditions and symbols of economic and political sovereignty.

Preelection packages also contain candidates' promises that if they are elected they will advocate the protection of a clean environment, the correction of injustices committed in the postwar period, social programs, and national reconciliation of all Slovenes. They mentioned Slovenia's secession from Yugoslavia mostly as something conditional, that is, only if life in our state became unbearable.

Since many are making promises too readily, one could also hear some warnings, mostly by people who participated at joint presentations. Thus, for example, even Ciril Zlobec said: Really, people, even God himself would not be able to fulfill everything we are promising our voters.

More knowledgeable and expert people have supported demands to give nationalized land, houses, and other property back to former owners, albeit warning that all that will not go smoothly and easily, because these are very complicated matters.

As regards confederal or asymmetric status of Slovenia and other republics, one could hear the opinion that one first has to abolish the federal setup and then make a new agreement. The (?mentioned) secession is also not easy. Dr. Bostjan Zupancic, well-known lawyer and university professor and candidate of the LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]-Party of Democratic Reform for member of the Slovene Presidency, expressed the view that the question of secession is very complicated from both legal and material aspect. He was probably thinking about the already well-known saying: You have to go to court if you want a divorce.

Assuming that after one marriage ends, a new marriage will follow—according to the principle of secession and accession—Dr. Zupancic was seriously concerned about one particular thing. He openly alluded to the unification of two German states and the tendency of creating a big German state that would include Austria, too. He asked: Whom will Slovenia join? He failed to provide a specific answer, but, recalling the past, he said: Slovenes would be in for a dark future.

Secretariat Denies Recruits Involved in Kosovo

LD1403152190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1317 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—It is categorically denied in the Federal Secretariat of National Defense that any Yugoslav People's Army soldier was ever in a situation where, directly with weapons, he clashed with the demonstrators in Kosovo. The secretariat also rejected the fairy tales that raw recruits, young men, are allegedly involved in operational tasks.

In accordance with the decision of the SFRY Presidency, the armed forces in Kosovo are mainly involved in the prevention of violence within the framework of their commitments concerning the protection of the constitutional system in the country. There has been no case so far when Yugoslav People's Army personnel directly clashed with the demonstrators in Kosovo, stresses the Federal Secretariat of National Defense. They say that the men in training or those who have not been trained for specific tasks are not used.

The claim that a disproportionate number of recruits from Slovenia are being sent to Kosovo to do their national military service there is also inaccurate, says the secretariat. As an illustration, they mentioned that by virtue of the so-called March deployment only about five percent of the recruitment contingent from Slovenia has been detailed to that province.

It is understood that the Federal Secretariat for National Defense should get its own press spokesman. On a routine basis, probably once a week, he will inform the journalists about anything of importance happening in the Armed Forces.

Kosovo Committee Reports Human Rights Violations

LD1403153190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1147 GMT 14 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—In view of its assessment that despite the conclusions on the current situation in Kosovo adopted by the Yugoslav Assembly "the violation of human rights and freedoms continues in the province," the Kosovo Human Rights Committee has sent a letter to the SFRY Assembly president together with a detailed report on "beatings, torture, persecution, and the killing of Kosovo citizens" in January and February this year.

The Kosovo Human Rights Committee calls on Yugoslav Assembly delegates to consider a report by the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs in parallel with the committee's own report. The Federal Executive Council is called upon "immediately to halt all activities by whichever of its organs that violate human rights and freedoms." The committee also notes that, according to information it has obtained, "since 23 January 36 citizens of Albanian nationality were killed and 204 injured as a direct result of members of the Federal Internal Affairs Secretariat combined unit and other security forces overstepping their powers."

The SFRY Assembly is also called on to stop the wave of dismissals from Kosovo enterprises of workers "who took part in strikes, public gatherings, and demonstrations and to ensure that those already dismissed are immediately reinstated." It is said in the letter that as a result of the dismissals, the economy of Kosovo has found itself in a very difficult situation that, it is said, can jeopardize the implementation of reforms.

In its letter, the Kosovo Human Rights Committee draws attention to its dissatisfaction with the decisions to allow students of non-Albanian nationalities to live in a separate hall of residence and Serbian and Montenegrin schoolchildren to attend classes in mornings only.

Attached to the letter is a report listing all the instances of human rights violations compiled on the basis of accounts by either the committee's members or Kosovo citizens. It should, however, be said that in the light of information contained in this report, offense charges have already been brought against Dr. Zekerije Cana on well-founded suspicion of spreading untruth and disturbing the public.

Initiative's View of Mostar Talks on Kosovo

AU1303092790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 90 p 2

[Statement by the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative on the 28 February-1 March talks about Kosovo in Mostar: "A Dialogue Instead of a Clash"]

[Text] At the initiative of the Mostar branch of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative [AYDI] and thanks to the hospitality of the city of Mostar, talks were held in Mostar between 28 February and 1 March in which, in addition to the representatives of the AYDI's branches from all over Yugoslavia, the following also took part: the representatives of the AYDI, the Committee for Truth About Kosovo, the Yugoslav Forum for Human Rights and Legal Protection of Citizens, the Peasant Party of Kosovo, the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, the Social Democratic Party of Kosovo, the Youth Parliament, the Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Alliance of Yugoslavia, the Helsinki Committee, and the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We conclude with regret that the talks were not attended by the representatives of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia, the Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Pristina, and certain newly founded political parties and associations of citizens, but hope that they will participate in the continuation of the talks.

The participants in the talks agree that the starting point for a dialogue about Kosovo should be the principles concerning individual human rights and citizens' freedoms, the Helsinki Declaration on inviolability of state borders in Europe, which also applies to Yugoslavia, and increasingly pronounced wishes to establish political democracy in Yugoslavia. It is necessary to continue the talks that were started in Mostar on this basis in order to avoid an intensification of conflict and the use of armed force.

The following is necessary for the continuation of the talks that would be held in Pristina:

1. Recognize the deep dissatisfaction with the present living conditions of all citizens of Kosovo, regardless of their social, national, and religious affiliation, which means that arguments about events in the recent or more distant past are not necessary—a joint condemnation of the key causes of the present situation is sufficient.
2. All citizens of Kosovo must have at least those political, economic, social, and cultural rights (which are otherwise insufficient) that are enjoyed by the citizens in all other parts of the country.
3. After the authorities accept the content of Point 2 and state that they will stop with the activities that could violate citizens' rights and in turn cause dissatisfaction; all regime and non-regime political organizations and associations should appeal to all citizens of Kosovo to voluntary stop using some of their undeniable rights (especially the right to public gathering and demonstrating) in the next few months so that the situation in the province can calm down. All these organizations should appeal to all their members and supporters not to participate in violence and unrest of any kind.
4. In the same period, one should start with a gradual withdrawal of the members of the joint militia unit (and other organs of coercion). The deadline by which certain extraordinary measures that are still in force in Kosovo, as well as the extraordinary measures as a whole, should stop to apply must also be stated.

5. In the same period, all political organizations and associations in the province should continue intensive cooperation with the aim of adopting a joint declaration that would guarantee the rights of individuals or groups of individuals in the province as an integral part of Yugoslavia. The guarantees formulated in this way should jointly be taken upon by the state organs of Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia.

6. After this, one should proceed with concrete actions aimed at resolving the burden of the past in a generally acceptable way.

7. An independent commission—which would gather information concerning the responsibility for emigration, victims that fell in the last few months, a lack of opportunities to publicly express political views in Kosovo, and other problems—should prepare its first report for the next round of talks in Pristina (by the expiration of the envisioned deadline, that is, by the end of March). The report should contain the facts that are not disputed, as well as the controversial points of various interpretations, and propose the way the commission should continue its work and the talks about Kosovo proceed. The president of the commission would be Srdja Popovic, a lawyer from Belgrade, and Tanja Petovar, also a lawyer from Belgrade. The third member of the commission would be elected by the Yugoslav Forum for Human Rights and Legal Protection of Citizens. The composition and powers of the commission would finally be determined once the talks in Pristina commence.

8. We propose that the next roundtable talks on the coordination of democratic initiatives, which would discuss "Human rights and democracy in Kosovo and Yugoslavia," be decided on in Pristina. Preparations regarding the organization would be carried out by the Pristina branch of the AYDI in cooperation with appropriate authorities, sociopolitical organizations, political parties, and citizens' associations.

Once these preconditions have been fulfilled it will be possible to start the negotiations, in the full sense of the word, on essential questions concerning the position of Kosovo in Yugoslavia. The purpose of the negotiations would be to prepare free elections in Kosovo as part of the elections of new authorities throughout Yugoslavia. We are convinced that the newly elected organs will be able to make appropriate decisions on problems in Kosovo and Yugoslavia on the basis of the adopted laws on citizens freedoms and the principles of the new democratic constitution of Yugoslavia. [Signed] Dr. Novak Jaukovic, president of the Executive Committee of the AYDI

Dr. Nebojsa Popov, vice president of the Executive Committee of the AYDI

Dr. Zarko Puhovski, president of the Commission for Program of the AYDI

Zeljko Rebec, president of the Mostar branch of the AYDI

Bozur Branch Established in Vucitrn

LD2502222490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1512 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Vucitrn, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—The founding assembly of the Vucitrn branch of the Bozur Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo was held in this muncipality today. The meeting was attended by 500 people.

About 15 Albanians entered the hall before the beginning of the assembly, saying that they would like to take part in its proceedings. The Serbs and Montenegrins opposed this, so the police led them out of the hall. This was followed by applause.

Vojislav Delevic was elected bracnh president, and Bozur's entire program was also accepted. Hearty approval was accorded to an initiative to install a memorial plaque in Kosovo Polje engraved with the date of Slobodan Milosevic's visit to this place.

The Vucitrn branch, named "Sitnica," added its own stands and assessments to Bozur's list. It demands a separate primary school for the Serbian and Montenegrin children that would be guarded by joint militia units, and that cadre changes be carried out in the Vucitrn Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

The meeting was also attended by Bolzur's frontman, Bogdan Kecman, who repeated the demand that peaceful lives for the Serbs and Montenegrins be ensured in Kosovo. In an emotionally charged atmosphere, which reigns supremne at most meetings these days in Kosovo, Kecman told his compatriots to get "ready for the decisive stage in the struggle for their lives."

He demanded that the curfew be lifted from the Serbs and Montenegrins and be in force only for the Albanians, thanks to whom it was introduced in the first place. He appealed to Serbs and Montenegrins for harmony, stressing that only in this way can they stand up to Albanian separatists and nationalists.

Probably carried away by the enthusiastic support, Kecman went so far as to say, as to demand, that undisturbed attendance at lessons should be secured for children, that "they (Albanians) are no good as far as school goes anyway, since the way many of them got their diplomas is not known, nor is it known to what extent they are literate."

The meeting dispersed quietly. Nonetheless, outside the Hall of Culture where it was held, there was obvious tension between its participants and the Albanians standing in small groups. There were no incidents, something that is apparently to be credited to the heavy presence of joint militia unit members.

Kosovo Official Meets Pristina Citizens

LD2402205590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—Information on all the events in Kosovo and on possible transgression of powers by members of the joint units of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, which were compiled by the federal commission, will be submitted to provincial organs and revealed to the public. Abuses of power, if there were any, must be clarified and necessary measures taken, said Kosovo Executive Council President Jusuf Zejnulahu, addressing a meeting of citizens from three local communities of the Vranjevac settlement in Pristina today.

The autonomous status of the province will not be abolished under any conditions, just like the equality of the Albanian nationality vis-a-vis the nations and nationality of Yugoslavia will never be called into question, stressed Zejnulahu. He added that people should vote on their candidates and that the leading positions should be filled by those who everyone trusts. However, conditions should be created for this. Above all, we must be involved in calming the situation in Kosovo, because until then we cannot meet the demands to abolish the state of emergency.

The citizens greeted these words with whistles and noise. They asked Zejnulahu to explain to them why the demands of Serbian and Montenegrin students for an additional hall of residence were met the same day, while Albanians have to wait over two weeks for a reply to their demands. [passage omitted: more complaints voiced by Albanian citizens]

The citizens of Vranjevac are asking that all political parties be treated in the same way. If the Kosovo alternative movement, led by Albanians, has led to such a situation, its members should be arrested but then members of Bozur—who are appealing to volunteers to go to Kosovo and demanding the emigration of 200,000 Albanians from the province, special schools, and closure of the university—should also be arrested, it was stated at the meeting, which was attended by over 2,000 citizens.

Drnosvek Discusses Domestic, World Issues

JN2702171890 Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 26 Feb 90 p 5

[Interview with SFRY President Janez Drnosvek by Samir Rajab in Belgrade; date not given]

[Text] [Rajab] I would like to convey to you the pleasure of the Egyptian people as they await your arrival in Egypt on 26 February.

[Drnosvek] I feel very glad to visit Egypt and meet with President Husni Mubarak. We will exchange views on all issues of concern to our two countries and to the Nonaligned Movement. We will also discuss problems of development and progress in the Third World. We appreciate President Husni Mubarak's wise policy and his efforts to bring about peace and stability in the Middle East and to resolve problems of Africa.

[Rajab] Your excellency, this is your first visit to a nonaligned country. We take this opportunity to know your views on the current role of the Nonaligned Movement.

[Drnosvek] I think the role of the movement is still extremely important. Recent developments and events have emphasized the importance of this role not only for the nonaligned countries but also for other world countries. We are not here making a statement on the role of the Nonaligned Movement, but I can say the movement is currently continuing its activity in accordance with the resolutions of the ninth summit with a view to consolidating world peace and security, promoting human rights, and strengthening the role of the United Nations. In addition, the movement's role is not confined to the various political problems and issues such as the Middle East problem, but also covers issues of environment and economy, which have become important factors in the world's future development.

[Rajab] But the movement is now required to promote its role in line with the new world developments, especially the rapprochement between the two superpowers and the start of a new phase—after the developments in East Europe—characterized by dialogue and cooperation between the East and West. How do you envision—and your country is the current chairman of the Nonaligned Movement—the new role of the Movement, especially since most issues of the Third World (which basically makes up the Movement) are being resolved at the negotiation table between the two superpowers, away from the Movement?

[Drnosvek] The ninth nonaligned summit, held in Belgrade last September, defined the bases and trends of the Movement's future activity and its participation in current international moves. It is undoubtedly important that we direct the Movement toward openness, dialogue, and cooperation with the world and confront the challenges faced by members of the Movement.

I think the Nonaligned Movement should focus during the upcoming phase on efforts to solve the economic problems, being the most serious threat to the Third World. The Movement should also focus on dialogue with developed countries to achieve what is called economic breakthrough; that is, to resolve the major economic problems hindering development in the developing countries and lessen the tragic conditions these countries, which lag behind the wheel of world development, are experiencing.

The recent world changes that led to what can be termed as world detente and deflection of ideological divisions between alliances, have, undoubtedly, helped to find solutions to many world tensions and crises, the so-called regional problems.

The SFRY, as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, will endeavor, together with the Movement's other members, to expedite a solution to the remaining regional problems, especially the longstanding Middle East crisis, which has become the most important and most complicated one. The Movement is giving this crisis extreme attention.

[Rajab] Your excellency: We are aware that the SFRY is one of the countries that, together with Egypt, is exerting efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East. Now, how do you view the Soviet Jews' emigration to Israel?

[Drnosvek] Yes, there is a problem and you know all the facts.

[Rajab] Yes, we know all the facts. However, what is the SFRY's stance on this serious problem, which threatens the peace process in the region?

[Drnosvek] This problem is multifaceted. The Jews come to Israel from many countries, although most of them come from the USSR. Therefore, I believe that the problem must be discussed with many countries. Moreover, the USSR cannot restrict the people's freedom of movement and travel, because this is an encroachment on human rights. We must search for another solution to stop the Soviet Jews' emigration to Israel.

[Rajab] But there are the Palestinian people's rights.

[Drnosvek] Yes, I am aware of this, of course; and the SFRY honors the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The SFRY's position on the Middle East crisis and the Palestine question is also known. It has always tried, within the United Nations and international organizations, to implement the international resolutions on resolving the Palestinian problem. However, the right solution to resolve the problem of the Soviet Jews' emigration to Israel cannot be achieved by asking the USSR to stop the emigration or to prevent people from leaving the country. We must search for another solution.

[Rajab] Your excellency: The debt problem has exhausted Third World people and countries. Does your excellency believe there is a need to find a new system to settle this problem?

[Drnosvek] The two sides to the debt problem are creditor nations and debtor nations. A search must be made to find a way for negotiations to settle this problem, which has become much worse. Some countries are incapable of paying back their debts, because of slowness or failure in the development process. Mexico, Venezuela, and other countries are examples of this.

I believe that economic reform programs should be established in these countries until circumstances are better and the debt problem is solved through negotiations between the creditor and debtor nations.

The debt problem has become a major cause of economic deterioration, poverty, and threatened social stability in a large number of developing countries. There is a need now for concerned parties to embark on common action to resolve the problem. There are many new proposals, ideas, and specific practical measures. However, they are not sufficient so far.

In addition to all these efforts to repay the debts, there is a need for new loans to complete the development projects already begun by the developing countries. The Nonaligned Movement presented, in its ninth session in Belgrade, realistic and flexible proposals to resolve this problem. There is hope of reaching an agreement on an appropriate formula to solve the debt problem that can be accepted by all parties, if the competent international organizations and groupings continue to discuss this issue.

With regard to North-South dialogue in light of the initiative proposed by President Muhammad Husni Mubarak and the presidents of India, Venezuela, and Senegal—and then the SFRY—the initiative is still in its beginning stages and there should be cooperation among all countries to act in the interests of all peoples. No solutions can be found to the many problems facing developing countries—problems such as foreign debts, protectionism, transfer of technology, the loss of raw materials from developing countries, and the problem of protecting and preserving the environment—without direct contribution and constructive cooperation among countries.

There are large potential benefits from South-South cooperation; this potential represents an important factor for development.

I hope that the group formed by the ninth summit of the Nonaligned Movement will contribute to achieving this.

[Rajab] Your excellency the president, in your opinion, how do the recent events in East Europe affect Yugoslavia?

[Drnosvek] Events in East Europe have taken place very rapidly and with unbelievably long strides. These events have led to a real change in the structure of relations within and between the two blocs.

Undoubtedly, these changes have an effect—but not a considerable one—on Yugoslavia. This is because we began reforms a long time ago and before these changes began. We have also called for party pluralism. The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] was the initiator of political and economic reforms in Yugoslavia. In fact, its acceptance of political competition and its abandonment of political monopoly constitute a strong manifestation of the extent of development within the LCY.

We are also currently preparing a radical transformation in the LCY to cope with the new circumstances and

changes and to align the role of the LCY with market economy, political pluralism, and law-based state.

This transformation will include the introduction of changes in the LCY program, its content, mode of action, as well as its internal relations and political cadres.

[Rajab] Does that mean that the single party is about to open the door for other political parties?

[Drnosvek] Yes, we are heading toward the emergence of parties. The LCY has abandoned the power monopoly and the new parties will participate in the coming elections.

[Rajab] Are they going to be direct elections?

[Drnosvek] Yes. Elections will be direct.

[Rajab] What about the new parties and their establishment procedures?

[Drnosvek] There will be some organizational procedures for the establishment of parties. We are currently drafting a constitution that will particularly focus on liberties and personal human rights, something that attracts worldwide interest. During the process of drafting this constitution, we sought to make it short, modern, and free of verbose, unnecessary articles.

[Rajab] How are Yugoslavia's relations with the United States proceeding?

[Drnosvek] These relations are proceeding normally and without problems. However, they have no special character.

[Rajab] Your excellency the president, allow us to ask you personal questions. How do you feel now, as president of Yugoslavia, to be preparing to visit Cairo, where you once served in the Yugoslav Embassy?

[Drnosvek] It would better to answer this question on my return from Cairo.

[Rajab] Is your excellency satisfied with the presidential system in Yugoslavia, where the president is changed every year?

[Drnosvek] Certainly, it is inconvenient to change the president every year. However, this federal system has many advantages, as it makes it possible for the six republics to take part in power. Of course, collective presidency has many merits.

At any rate, this issue will be addressed by the new Constitution.

[Rajab] Would you tell us what your daily program is?

[Drnosvek] I will tell my program for today, as an example. In the morning, I had a meeting with the Armed Forces leaders, as the president in Yugoslavia is, at the same time, the commander in chief of the Armed Forces. This is one of the president's jobs. I then met with members of my office staff. Then I received you and will receive a number of foreign ambassadors later.

[Rajab] Do you work in the evening?

[Drnosvek] Sometimes.

[Rajab] What are your favorite hobbies.

[Drnosvek] In my leisure time I play sports. My favorite game is tennis.

Trade Unions Leave Socialist Alliance

AU0503134090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Feb 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The Trade Unions Leaving the Front"]

[Text] The Presidium of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation Council has confirmed the council's proposal on the withdrawal of the organization from the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia. At the same time, this means the withdrawal of the trade union delegates from the Socialist Alliance of Working People organs at the federal level.

The proposal has been motivated by the desire to confirm, in this additional way, the determination of the trade unions to become a free organization, independent of the state as well as of the party and the political parties. Two republican trade union organizations (of Slovenia and Croatia) have already left the Socialist Alliance of Working People, and in the others, discussions and preparations for a similar act are under way.

The Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, as Andjelko Vasic said, will remain open to cooperation with all the political parties [partije i stranke] that in their programs and activities will follow the line of the workers class interests.

People's Radical Party Opens Pristina Branch

LD2302211490 TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—A local committee of the People's Radical Party has been founded in Pristina, and lawyer Vukosav Stankovic has been elected its chairman. Veljko Guberina, People's Radical Party temporary chairman, attended the founding of the Pristina committee, it was announced.

The party committee will advocate "a radical and lasting solution to the problem of Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija], accompanied by the establishment of an ethnic balance, making a living from one's own work, and effective functioning of state organs." The party committee will begin work immediately. To this end it will cooperate with all patriotic democratic forces, the statement says.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC on LCY Crisis

LD0903231990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 9 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 9 Mar (TANJUG)—In the contacts between sections of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] to seek solutions to overcome the crisis in the LCY, there was support on all sides for the basic orientations of the text of the proposals of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. And their closeness to the platform for action of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] in the new conditions was highlighted.

This is stressed in today's statement on the talks between a delegation of the LCY in the Yugoslav People's Army, in which Petar Simic, Stane Brovet, and Milenko Andjelic took part, and members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium.

In the talks conducted yesterday in the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee between a delegation of the LCY in the Yugoslav People's Army and the Central Committee Presidium, a full identity of views was expressed on the perception of the Yugoslav People's Army as a united Yugoslav armed force that is only for the interests of each citizen and of all the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Communists Issue Election Program

AU2702142290 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 90 p 8

[M.C. report: "Announcement by the Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 19 Feb—In the building of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina today, journalists were given posters outlining the electoral program of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina for the upcoming race for places on this republic's assembly benches.

With the title "Citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina: We Are in Favor of," 16 principles are listed that the future Communist Party will fight for.

The League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be committed to: the dignity and freedom of the person, the freedom of political organization, general free democratic elections, the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], the Regional Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Bosnia-Hercegovina and living together, democratic socialism and a market economy, a fair, efficient state and independent judiciary, the scrapping of thought crimes and the death sentence, a unified Yugoslav People's Army, a healthy environment, a future based on development, a new attitude toward knowledge and creativity, a better life in the country, social security and new workplaces, happy childhood and comfortable old age, and a sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina, Yugoslavia, Europe, and world.

The names of the candidates of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina for the next assembly elections in March will be announced today and, as we have learned, this will be done at the next session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina on Saturday, which will be closed to the public. [sentence as published] The new electoral program that was announced today was also formulated during the closed part of the recent session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Reaction Noted to Law on Political Parties

LD2602142790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1300 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, February 26 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Serbia's draft law on political parties is described by its authors, official authorities, as the most democratic possible but is viewed by not a few of the newly formed parties as insufficiently democratic and as falling short of Serbia's democratic traditions, the Belgrade daily BORBA writes today.

BORBA writes that representatives of the Democratic Party, the Yugoslav Alliance, the Social-Democratic Alliance of Yugoslavia, the Movement for Democratic Renewal and the People's Radical Party feel that the proposed bill marks only a step forward in relation to the existing legislation.

The respective parties object to the fact that the bill, which has been put to a public discussion, envisages that parties must in advance obtain a permit for their registration instead of being able to begin working from the moment they are founded. The bill's article which enables the administrative bodies to ban political parties as they deem fit is especially strongly criticized.

The bill also envisages that a party must have at least 100 members in order to be registered, which critics says is not right at all. The critics of the bill feel that the newly formed parties should be able to work as the so-called initiative committees until they attract the required number of members.

The critics also underscore the need for the newly formed parties to be equated in status with the League of Communists and other socio-political organizations of the existing system. If the League of Communists and other socio-political organizations were to retain all their current financial, personnel and other advantages, the newly formed parties would not stand a chance, critics of the bill set out.

The proposed provision according to which the Supreme Court of Serbia would be the last arbiter to decide whether a disputed programme of a newly formed party

complies with the law and which has been termed as positive by some newly formed parties has been placed in question by others, who point out that Supreme Court judges are usually members of the League of Communists and that their objectivity could therefore be questioned.

Commentary Notes Lithuania's Secession

AU1403152490 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 12 Mar 90 p 1

[Darijan Kosir "Topic of the Day" commentary: "End of a History"]

[Text] Those who will write history in the years to come will certainly have to register the crucial Lithuanian parliamentary "session of bold decisions" on 11 March, at which the Baltic republic, annexed by force to the USSR, made the long-heralded step proclaiming its independence and seceding from the USSR. All this does not mean merely Lithuanian independence, although that is in the foreground; it also marks the definite (also much-heralded) beginning of the process of the disintegration of the Soviet empire and of the changing of borders on the old continent, which until now has been heretical. Last year's events in East Europe show that the first break is sufficient for the breakup of a given artificial creation (which the USSR and the East European bloc certainly are), after which the dominoes fall one after the other.

The proclamation of Lithuanian independence may also be the political end of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The man who took the lid off, from under which the long-concealed genie has escaped—including Lithuania—may probably become the first victim of this genie, not only because the Lithuania's move presents a possibility of a counterblast by conservative forces, but also because of the specific behavior by the future Soviet strong "president" in connection with Lithuania's secession. The secession from a federation like the USSR is certainly not a simple matter; even the international law is rather strict in such cases. Nevertheless, the imperialist threats (monetary, territorial, and military) by the federal "boss" in connection with the secession of Lithuania are something that one could not expect of a statesman of his reputation and intelligence. But he, too, is offered an alternative by history: Gorbachev can be "the man of the decade" in the nineties, too, if only he will know how to put the relations with Lithuania, and the other centrifugal republics that will follow the Vilnius example, on a European democratic and civilizational level, which unfortunately has not been known in the past 45 years.

[Page 1 of the same issue of DELO carries a cartoon by Juri Franco entitled "Europe Now." The cartoon depicts three pictures one below the other. The top picture shows a distraught Gorbachev saying "Lithuania today..."; the middle picture shows Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, with Triglav, the highest Slovene mountain, in the background, saying "and tomorrow..."; and the bottom picture shows a fierce dog against the same background, growling and straining against a leash, and his handler saying: "Forget it!" The dog's collar has a red star.]

Loncar Views Foreign Policy Issues

LD2202134190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1115 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—For the past 12 years, since diplomatic relations were established, cooperation between Yugoslavia and Spain has progressed; still, one gets the impression that the pace of the progress was pedestrian, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, said in the interview to the EFE Spanish news agency.

In the interview given on the occasion of the visit of Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs Francisco Fernandez Ordonez to Yugoslavia, Loncar assessed that the two countries could be "not just neighbors in the Mediterranean, but a vital link in the future European structure, the link that would make the structure firm and stable, pluralistic and yet united."

Answering a question on which type of relationship with the European Community Yugoslavia strives for, Budimir Loncar said that the special status is similar to the one held by the European Free Trade Association members and by some Mediterranean countries. "At the beginning of this month, we sent a formal application to the EC for establishing relations based on association and for signing a new agreement," Loncar said.

To the question of whether some Central European countries express interest in nonalignment, the federal secretary for foreign affairs recalled that membership of the movement is always an option for everyone and that the movement has no pretensions about becoming a Third World bloc. "If today the global interests of the nonaligned and the two blocs are almost compatible, and if the interbloc restraints are less and less relevant in world politics, then there is no reason why countries gripped by the bloc transformations should not express interest in nonalignment," Loncar judged.

Answering a question about "the slow pace of rapprochement between Yugoslavia and Israel," Budimir Loncar noted that the fact that there are no established diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and Israel is not in the interest of either country. "We expect that Israel will at least to give hope that it does not consider occupation and annexation of foreign territories as the final solution and to respect the fact that Yugoslavia belongs to the nonaligned movement," Loncar stressed.

To a question on whether some of the six Yugoslav republics have their own foreign policy, Budimir Loncar replied that one could talk rather about "individual foreign policy initiatives." According to the federal secretary for foreign affairs, this in itself is not necessarily bad in a democratic and pluralistic society that is not monolithic.